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ALEXANDER McNAIR

BY WALTER B. STEVENS.

The inscription on the shaft at the grave^s recites that "Alexander McNair, first Governor of the State of Missouri" was "born in Mifflin County, Pa., May 5, 1775." This is at variance both as to date and place with most of the biographical notes on Alexander McNair in Missouri histories. The grandfather, David McNair, came from Donaghmore, County Donegal, Ireland, about 1832. He settled in Derry township, Pennsylvania, which is commonly given as the birthplace of Alexander McNair. The ancestors were of Scottish clan from near the head of Loch Lomond. Alexander McNair's father served in the Revolutionary war, dying from injuries received in the Battle of Trenton. Alexander McNair was two years old when his father died, which fact obtained from official records by Edward Brown, the biographer of Governor McNair, it is difficult to reconcile with the entertaining tradition about the coming to Missouri.

The tradition is that Alexander McNair was at Philadelphia college, afterwards the University of Pennsylvania, in the first year of the course when he was summoned home by the death of his father. There was some dispute about the settlement of the estate. The mother decided to leave it to a physical encounter between Alexander and his brother Dunning. Alexander lost. The tradition runs that "Alexander received a severe whipping at the hands of his brother, to whom he afterwards acknowledged he owed the honor of being the first governor of Missouri."

"The story is interesting," writes Mr. Brown, in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*," but has little semblance of truth. His parents did not die at that time, and the paternal estate had apparently been settled when the widow filed her final account as administratrix, some six or seven years previous. Nor was it the disposition of Alexander McNair to make settlement with a brother in the manner

described." Mr. Brown quotes from a letter written from St. Louis by Captain McNair to his brother-in-law in Pennsylvania regarding his share in the estate:

"It is not possible for brother Dunning and me to settle our business without both being present. I am willing to take anything he will give me for the land and take in payment almost anything, rather than have a dispute with a brother."

Between the time of leaving college and the coming to St. Louis, Alexander McNair saw some military service which proved of decided value to him. He was in command of a company from Dauphin county during the Whiskey Insurrection. In the spring of 1799, he received a commission as first lieutenant when the Provisional Army was organized for the threatened hostilities with France. This war cloud passing, Lieutenant McNair and his comrades were mustered out. They were reviewed by Washington. In the family history of the McNairs preserved by the Missouri Historical Society, it is stated that Lieutenant McNair received personal commendation from Washington which he "always regarded as the greatest honor of his life."

According to these family records, Alexander McNair arrived in Missouri in the winter of 1804, in time to witness the raising of the American flag and the transfer of sovereignty in March. Close friendly relations with General William Henry Harrison had much to do with the auspicious beginning of Alexander McNair's career in Missouri. General Harrison was governor of Northwest Territory, a vast region east of the Mississippi, with headquarters at Vincennes. Almost immediately after Captain Amos Stoddard had received the Upper Louisiana Territory from Spanish Lieutenant-Governor Delassus at St. Louis, General Harrison was sent over to establish some form of government until Congress could act more definitely. Alexander McNair was made a justice of the court of common pleas. His associates were Charles Gratiot, J. B. C. Lucas, John Coburn, Rufus Easton, Richard Caulk, James Richardson and John Allen. These eight men, with Governor Harrison presiding, con-

stituted all there was of American government in Upper Louisiana for several months. They not only acted as justices but fulfilled the function of a legislature. They licensed several ferries at ten dollars a year. They put a tax of \$100 a year on each billiard table, and five dollars on taverns. They provided that shaved deerskins might be taken for taxes from October to April at the rate of three pounds to the dollar, but that in the other months cash must be paid. They fined Sheriff Rankin six dollars for "insolence and contempt of court." They did many other things in the few months of their service until the American government of Upper Louisiana was organized with more formality and detail.

Captain McNair subsequently held the office of sheriff of St. Louis, being the fourth appointee to that position. Still later he was commissioned by President Madison to be United States marshal of Missouri Territory. From his arrival in St. Louis, 1804, until his death, March 18, 1826, he was almost continuously in positions of public trust and confidence. For some time after his arrival he held the office and performed the duties of United States Commissary.

When St. Louis was incorporated as a town under the act of June 18, 1808, Alexander McNair was one of the five trustees elected. Without waiting for approval by the court of the petition for incorporation, the trustees went ahead with the passage of ordinances. The record shows that Captain McNair, as he was best known at that time, and his associates signed the ordinance of September 21, 1808, establishing the patrol; the first police organization was so called. The trustees discovered that their work was premature. The court did not approve the petition until November 9, 1809. In December following the patrol and other ordinances were re-enacted.

The military service which Captain McNair had rendered before coming west prepared him to undertake the duties of adjutant and inspector general of the territorial forces of Missouri territory when the War of 1812 with Great Britain opened. At that time "Captain McNair's Troop of Horse" was one of the popular institutions of St. Louis. It

paraded on the fourth of July. After his service in the War of 1812 until his election as governor, he was "Colonel McNair."

The question of land titles was an overshadowing issue in the territorial period of Missouri. Alexander McNair early applied his practical turn of mind to the solution. As St. Ange and the Spanish lieutenant-governors who succeeded him assigned grants for colonial homes and other improvements to the pioneer settlers, records were made in several books called *Livres Terrien*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6. These *Livres Terrien* constituted the real estate records of St. Louis when American sovereignty stepped in. Some of the assignments had been approved by the higher Spanish authority at New Orleans. Some had not. There were conflicting claims to the same pieces of ground. Transfers had been made irregularly. With the influx of American settlers and with the coming of many young American lawyers eager for clients, there developed much confusion about land titles. Congress had up the subject at every session. Legislation was enacted as early as 1805. Supplementary acts were passed in 1806, 1807, and 1812. The last mentioned was the most liberal respecting the rights of the villagers based on the grants made before the American occupation. The best elements of the French population and of the newcomers got together and chose a committee of thirteen to represent them in the settlement of titles. Alexander McNair was one of the thirteen. The committee decided that the proper course would be to have the *Livres Terrien*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 accepted as official records by the American government. They appealed to Frederick Bates, register of land titles for the territory of Missouri, to record these concessions. The activities of Alexander McNair in the settlement of the titles led to his appointment as register of the United States land office at St. Louis. The administration of the office added not little to Colonel McNair's hold on popular confidence and support. Shoemaker says in "Missouri's Struggle for Statehood," in discussing McNair's strength as a candidate for governor:

"His record as register of the St. Louis land office was also a recommendation for him. While holding that position he had deliberately disregarded the unpopular instructions of his superior and had granted more than a quarter section of land to individuals. This action had been opposed by the land speculators but had met with approbation of the pioneer settlers. Further, the fact that McNair's interpretation of the law on this point was found to be correct and the orders of his superior were later changed, served to strengthen his cause."

In the Missouri Intelligencer of August 19, 1820, this policy of McNair in the land office was cited in support of his candidacy for governor.

In 1814, Mr. Hempstead having declined reelection as Territorial Delegate in Congress, Colonel McNair, Rufus Easton who exposed Aaron Burr, Governor Samuel Hammond, and Thomas F. Reddick, preserver of the public school lands were candidates to succeed him. Easton was elected by a small majority.

In 1817 was held the first celebration in Missouri of Washington's Birthday. At the public meeting in Washington hall, the two men who were to be rival candidates for the office of chief executive of the new state three years later were the president and vice-president of the meeting, William Clark and Alexander McNair. That same year was organized the first board of school trustees for St. Louis. Alexander McNair was one of the seven trustees.

In the earlier years of his St. Louis life, Captain McNair was prominent in Masonic affairs. He was a member of St. Louis Lodge No. 111, of which Meriwether Lewis, then territorial governor, was worshipful master. On July 14, 1811, Captain McNair was chairman of the committee of arrangements for the masonic celebration of the festival of St. John the Baptist.

When the time seemed favorable, financially, for the building of the first Presbyterian church in St. Louis, Alexander McNair took active part in the movement. On the 11th of January, 1819, a public meeting was held at the

House of Rev. Salmon Giddings. The purpose was "to devise means for the erection of a Protestant house of worship." Stephen Hempstead who with eight others had organized the first Presbyterian church was chairman. Thomas H. Benton was secretary. A committee consisting of Alexander McNair, Rev. Salmon Giddings and Judge Nathaniel Beverly Tucker was appointed to draft a subscription paper. Catholic business men of St. Louis subscribed freely, three of them \$50 each. Another account of that meeting which has been handed down is that McNair presided. That he was active and influential in the movement seems evident. Edward Brown, the vice-president of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis says:

"Although Governor McNair came from a family of Scotch Presbyterians and had been born and reared in a Protestant community, he died in the faith which had been so truly exemplified in the home life of his wife and children, and received the last sacred rites of the church at his death."

Mr. Brown quotes from a letter written from St. Louis, by Bishop Du Bourg, July 6, 1822, found in the Catholic Archives of America, at Notre Dame, Indiana:

"The whole family of our governor are practical Catholics; and the governor himself does not miss any of our church celebrations."

One of the largest and most notable meetings to protest against the delay of Congress in granting Missourians' petition for statehood was held at St. Louis, May 15, 1819. Colonel Alexander McNair was the president and David Barton the secretary. Benton was the chief speaker. This was the meeting which declared:

"That the people of this territory have a right to meet in convention by their own authority and, to form a constitution and state government whenever they shall deem it expedient to do so, and that a second determination on the part of congress to refuse them admittance upon an equal footing of the original states, will make it expedient for them to do so."

In April, 1820, almost immediately following the recep-

tion of the news that Congress had passed the act permitting Missouri to form a constitution and become a state, candidates for the constitutional convention began to declare themselves, most of them in response to petitions of citizens calling upon them to run. Alexander McNair was one of the thirteen anti-restrictionists candidates brought forward. Anti-restriction meant opposition to any restriction imposed in the proposed constitution upon slavery. As St. Louis, town and county, was entitled to only eight delegates in the constitutional convention, the candidates each chose a deputy to meet and determine the eight to run. McNair was one of the eight. Opposition to this charged that the eight were a lawyers' ticket, the result of secret caucusing. Each of the eight was called upon to declare his position as to slavery. McNair's platform, as reported in the Missouri Gazette of April 26, 1820, was for unrestricted slavery and for free white male suffrage based on age, residence and a slight tax qualification. He did not go into details on his slavery position as did one of the others who was defeated at the election. The restrictionists put up a strong ticket, in St. Louis, considering the personal standing of the candidates thereon, but were beaten by nearly four to one. The highest vote cast for one of the anti-restrictionists in St. Louis county was 892. That was the vote received by David Barton. McNair and Bates tied for third place with 881. The election was by ballot and the three days, May 1, 2, and 3, were allowed for it.

The convention met June 12th, as provided in the act of Congress. From the very thorough researches of Mr. Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society, it does not appear that McNair was among the most active of the framers of this first organic act of Missouri. He was not on any one of the four most important committees chosen at the organization of the convention. The lawyers were in the saddle. In analyzing the votes cast in the convention, Mr. Shoemaker found that McNair was in a class of ten delegates who were on the successful side in only half of the propositions presented. But McNair made a record in his

voting which he used to effect in his race for governor. He opposed high salaries and voted against making \$2,000 the minimum for governor. In this course he was opposed to the dominating influence of the lawyer delegaties. Several of McNair's other votes on the losing side were against the provisions favored by the lawyers. Mr. Shoemaker suggests, "It is probable that his obvious inactivity in the convention and the inconspicuous part he played in the framing of the constitution were due to his political ambitions for the governorship." While the constitution was still in the making, Colonel McNair let it be known that he would be a candidate for governor. Some time in June he was reported to have predicted that he would carry St. Louis county by 500. He counted on the support of the "honest farmers."

It was openly charged by Colonel Charless' Gazette that a "lawyer junto" in the constitutional convention was framing a slate to control the offices of the new state. McNair was at first supposed to be the caucus choice but his independent utterances and opposition to the lawyers who controlled the convention showed the contrary. Territorial Governor William Clark, although at first declining to be a candidate because of the fatal illness of his wife, was induced to run against McNair, after Frederick Bates had been urged to be a candidate by the lawyers but had been found to be unavailable by the lawyers.

The constitution was signed and went into effect July 19, 1820. Two days later Colonel McNair formally announced himself in a letter addressed to "Fellow Citizens of the new State of Missouri," Governor Clark in announcing his candidacy addressed his letter "To the People of Missouri." He was absent from the state during the campaign, or the greater part of it. McNair made a personal canvas. He made no charges against Governor Clark but he did not spare the leaders of the constitutional convention for their secretive methods and for the failure to distribute the proceedings of the convention so that the voters could see how the delegates had voted. And in this connection he repeated his opposition to the high salaries of the governor and the

judges, pledging himself, if elected, to recommend to the legislature amendments to the constitution which would reduce these salaries.

Clark's friends carried on his campaign largely through the newspapers. They did not hesitate to attack McNair. They said, according to the newspaper propaganda in the possession of the State Historical Society of Missouri, that McNair had "officially done nothing in the convention except vote; that no part of the constitution owed any of its excellence to him; that while the names of Barton, Bates and Cook were familiar ones in the convention, the name of McNair meant nothing; that his political aspirations and ignorance combined were the reasons of his inactivity in the convention; that although he was a good citizen, a model husband, parent and neighbor, he lacked capacity and independence to hold the office of governor and could not be compared with Clark in knowing law." The quotation is from "Missouri's Struggle for Statehood" and is based on the files of the Missouri Intelligencer of August, 1820.

Private correspondence of the Clark people went farther in the criticism of McNair. John O'Fallon, son of Governor Clark's sister, and quite a young man, wrote from St. Louis to General T. A. Smith, July 27, 1820:

"The election is getting very warm—McNair is making the greatest exertions in the tippling shops of this place—he can at any time, now, be found in the back street, among the dirtiest blackguards—asserting that he must, and will, be elected—he is much involved in de. . (torn out) ing been protested in bank four times (torn out) to secure the votes and support of his creditors, assures them that his election will do much to extricate him from his embarrassments—"

Which goes to show that political campaign methods were not much better 100 years ago than they are in the twentieth century. According to the tax records, Governor McNair had prospered moderately well during his life in St. Louis. In 1811 his property was assessed at \$841, ranking him among the fairly well to do at that time. The richest man in St. Louis then, Colonel Auguste Chouteau,

was paying town taxes on an assessment of \$15,000. Only fourteen residents of St. Louis in 1811 owned "carriages of pleasure" and Captain McNair was one of them. In 1821 Governor McNair's property in St. Louis was assessed at \$6,400.

Anton Reilhe McNair, a grandson of Governor McNair, a resident of Saratoga, New York, who has made some researches in regard to the private life of his ancestor, says, in a typewritten statement, that the McNair home up to 1811, was at Main and Pine streets. That was in the immediate vicinity of the Chouteau residences. Captain McNair, as he was best known at that time, moved to Main and Spruce streets, which was the location of his home until about the time he ran for governor. In 1819, Colonel McNair built a brick house on the east side of Broadway, then called Third street, near the present O'Fallon street. This was opposite the home of General Ashley, one of the chief social centers of St. Louis. Ashley was elected lieutenant-governor at the same time that McNair was elected governor.

In the McNair manuscripts of the Missouri Historical Society there is a letter from Colonel McNair to his brother-in-law, James Horner, dated January 8, 1813, in which he writes of his financial condition:

"I have hope ahead but not much money on hand. I have a pretty good property in lands, house and lots in this place, tanyard in St. Charles, and five negroes, four large and one small in this place. My property in this county I think worth \$16,000, and you are the best judge of my property in that country, but this is what keeps me without cash, paying for property. But now I have got hold of such property as I wanted and will try and make money soon. Was not much business for sheriffs in this county, therefore, at present make little by my office, but will keep it for better times."

The activities of Alexander McNair were by no means limited to office holding. In 1806, according to his biographer, Edward Brown, Captain McNair had engaged in mercantile business. In 1812, the firm of McNair, Thompson & Com-

pany was doing commission business in the house of Madame Robidoux, and the next year the firm of McNair & Chandler was the style of Captain McNair's firm. Captain McNair dropped business to lead his company of mounted rangers into the War of 1812, leaving St. Louis in July. Of that service he wrote in a personal letter:

"The unfortunate situation in which our country was placed last summer, having to defend itself against the Indians, made it the duty of some persons to take an active part. I being one of those persons who volunteered their services with a company of as fine fellows as ever went into the woods, which I had the honor to command, having been kept out from the middle of July until the month of October, during which time all my business lay, and the expense of the company, which I had pretty much to bear for my men and trust them until they would pay me."

When he was holding the office of register of the United States land office, he continued his private business, for a time in partnership with James Kennerly and later on his own account. His biographer concludes:

"It is not surprising that he may not have always had the ready money wherewith to meet his obligations for it was a time when skins and peltries were commonly used as a medium of exchange; furthermore the warm heart and open hand of Colonel McNair did not lend themselves readily to an accumulation of "hard money."

The campaign was lively while it lasted. It closed August 26th, Saturday. The election was held the following Monday. For governor 9,132 votes were cast. McNair received 6,420, and Clark, 2,576; the rest scattering. When the returns were canvassed by the legislature they gave McNair a majority over Clark of 4,020. In St. Louis county McNair polled twice the votes that Clark did, beating him over 400 and almost verifying his prediction that he would have 500 majority from the "honest farmers." In St. Charles county, McNair's vote was nearly three to one against Clark; in Cooper county, four to one; in Howard and Jefferson counties nearly two to one. These were the heavy counties.

As the constitution provided, the first legislature of the State of Missouri met in St. Louis on the third Monday of September, the 18th, 1820. At 11 A. M. the following day Governor McNair and Lieutenant-governor Ashley appeared before the joint session and took their oaths of office. At 4 P. M. that day, Governor McNair came before the assembly and delivered in person his message, a model of brevity. He made one recommendation which was that provision be made as soon as possible for the election of three electors to cast the vote of Missouri for President and Vice-President of the United States. Congratulating the assembly "upon the happy change that has just taken place in our political affairs" he said:

"From a dependent condition of a territorial government we have passed into a sovereign and independent state. We have formed for ourselves a constitution, which though, perhaps, not free from imperfections incident to all human institutions, does honor to the character and intelligence of our infant state and gives every reason to expect that we shall, without further difficulty, be admitted to the Federal Union."

In his messages and manners, Governor McNair steadfastly maintained that with the adoption of the constitution and the inauguration of the state government, Missouri put off territorialhood and became a political entity. When the long delayed proclamation of President Monroe declared Missouri's admission to the Union to be "complete," August 10, 1821, Governor McNair in his message to the legislature said:

"Since the organization of this government we have exhibited to the American people a spectacle novel and peculiar—an American republic on the confines of the Federal Union, exercising all the powers of sovereign government with no actual political connection with the United States, and nothing to bind us to them but a reverence for the same principles and an habitual attachment to them and their government."

The first week of the McNair administration brought

a sharp conflict between governor and senate. The governor sent in the nomination of Joshua Barton to be secretary of state. The senate refused to confirm the governor's action but nominated Joshua Barton for secretary of state and sent the nomination to the governor, insisting that such was the correct interpretation of the constitutional provision, "There shall be a secretary of state, whom the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate shall appoint." Governor McNair's message in reply, controverting this position of the senate and asserting the prerogatives of the executive is one of the most interesting of his state papers. The senate yielded. Plain and business-like were all of the communications addressed by Governor McNair to the legislature. They leave the impression on the reader that Missourians of 1820 made no mistake in giving him seventy-two per cent of the vote cast.

Governor McNair was a good politician, probably the best of his generation in St. Louis. "Politician" is used in the best sense. Within less than a month after his inauguration, the governor set about the redemption of one of his leading campaign pledges. On the 12th of October he called upon the legislature to present an amendment on the subject of salaries of governor, the judges and the chancellor. His position was that the fixing of these salaries was "a question of expediency, not principle, its amount must result from a consideration of the talents required in the office, the duties to be performed, and the ability of the people to pay; of course it must change with times and circumstances, and therefore belongs to ordinary legislation."

The amendment applying to his own salary, which Governor McNair proposed was "The salary of the governor may be either less or more than \$2,000 annually, to be fixed by law from time to time." The constitution had provided that it should not be "less than \$2,000." Other salary amendments recommended by the governor were similar. Under the constitution amendments were approved by one legislature, published in the newspapers and then went over for final action by the next legislature, it being the theory

of the constitution framers that this course would give the voters sufficient opportunity to approve or disapprove of the amendments in their selection of the members of the following legislature.

But the senate and house of representatives failed to get together on the form of the amendments and the subject went over to the next legislature where the governor renewed his efforts to reduce the salaries of state officers.

The first general assembly fixed the compensation of members at four dollars a day, with a dollar additional for the presiding officers. Mileage at three dollars for each twenty-five miles "they must necessary travel" was added. Governor McNair vetoed the bill, saying, "In pursuance of that system of economy which the financial condition of the state requires, I have already deemed it expedient to recommend a reduction in other branches of public expenditure. The allowance of the contemplated pay to the members of the general assembly would seem to me inconsistent with, and a clear departure from that system." The legislature passed the bill over the veto, twenty-eight to seven in the house and nine to three in the senate. This was the first veto in the history of Missouri legislation, and it did not stick.

Governor McNair appreciated the importance and dignity of the office of first governor of Missouri. He made it evident in many ways. When the legislature assembled in St. Charles, the temporary capital, Governor McNair rode over on horseback. It is tradition, according to Walter Williams, that he was the only state officer who wore a cloth coat, cut swallowtail, after the fashionable style of 1821. The governor was further distinguished by a tall hat of beaver. Most of the legislators wore homespun clothes and home-made shoes. Several came in buckskin leggings, fringed hunting shirts and moccasins. A few had wool hats, but the common head covering even of the public men of Missouri was the fur cap of coon or wildcat. The sartorial distinction of Governor McNair made its impression upon the legislators. It is handed down that one member, Palmer, from the Grand

River valley, insisted on occupying for a single night the same bed with Governor McNair, so that, as he said, he could go back and tell his constituents on Fishing River that he had "slept with the governor of Missouri."

This legislator, Palmer, or Parmer, for tradition preserves both ways of designating him, was not overawed by his public position. He took an active part in the proceedings. Governor McNair did not limit his relations with the general assembly to the delivery of messages. On one occasion Duff Green and Andrew McGirk became so heated in argument during a session that McGirk threw a pewter inkstand at Green. A fist fight was started. Governor McNair came forward and tried to restore order. He took hold of Green and was trying to pull him away. Palmer, who called himself, the "Ringtail Painter," pushed the governor to one side and shouted:

"Stand back, governor, you are no more in a fight than any other man. I know that much law. I am at home in this business. Give it to him, Duff."

Of the popular verdict upon Governor McNair's administration and of the esteem in which the family was held by Missourians in 1824, Elihu H. Shepard, the pioneer educator writing on contemporaneous authority, has left this view:

"Governor McNair's term of office was now drawing to a close in 1824. It had been an entire success, and he retired from its duties with the gratifying consciousness that his entire administration had given satisfaction to the people in all parts of the state, and his example was worthy of imitation. Indeed his official career was always a success in all stations. He had filled many offices, both civil and military, in the territorial state and Indian departments with credit to himself and satisfaction to the public. He owed but little to scientific training or brilliant abilities, but he possessed a sound judgment, an honest heart and patriotic purpose, from which no allurements could ever divert him. His house was the abode of hospitality and the high school of refinement in St. Louis and Missouri, and people from all parts of the state resorted to it as to the home of a brother

and were received by his accomplished wife with the affection of a sister or a mother and made welcome to all it afforded. Information was sought and given there by politicians of all parties with the utmost freedom and kind feelings, for peace and wisdom always presided there in the person of Mrs. McNair and her well trained children. St. Louis was favored many consecutive years by the presence of the presiding executive.

Governor McNair's domestic relations were fortunate and happy. Mrs. McNair came of one of the families of sisters notable in the early history of Missouri. The Camps settled in St. Louis long before the American occupation. They were of Connecticut stock. Rev. Dr. Ichabod Camp was descended from the pioneers of Hartford and Milford. He graduated from Yale when it was a three-story building with a cupola. He went to England and received his license to preach from the bishop of London. Coming west with a family of daughters and a retinue of slaves, after having preached in Virginia, he lived in Kaskaskia, the pioneer rector of the Episcopal church on the Mississippi river, the associate of Shadrach Bond and others prominent in the territorial days of Illinois. One daughter, Catharine, married John B. Guion, of Canadian birth. Because of unkind treatment she returned to her father's home. Guion followed her. Dr. Camp met his son-in-law at the door and tried to restrain him, was shot and killed. Another daughter, Stella, married Antoine Reilhe, a French gentleman residing in St. Louis in colonial days. The widow Camp, with her daughters, moved from Kaskaskia to St. Louis. There Catherine Camp Guion, after the death of her husband, married Israel Dodge, of Connecticut birth, who left her a home, 1,000 silver dollars, two slaves and 1,000 arpents of land. The youngest of the Camp sisters became the wife of Mackay Wherry, founder of a family, three generations of which held the same public office in St. Louis. Charlotte Camp married Moses Bates.

The Camp family was so well thought of by the Spanish authorities that the widow of Ichabod Camp received the assignment of a piece of ground 120 by 150 feet, at what

later became the corner of Fourth and Almond streets, on which to build a barn. The same Spanish lieutenant-governor granted Mrs. Camp and her son-in-law, Antoine Reilhe, a tract of 2,000 arpents along the River des Peres. Mrs. Stella Camp Reilhe bore her husband a son and two daughters, the eldest, Marguerite Susanne, becoming the wife of Captain McNair the year after he settled in St. Louis.

Anton Reilhe was of French birth, of a noble family, the De Reilhes, and highly educated. His wife dying when the children were small, Mr. Reilhe devoted himself to the education and training of them. Marguerite Susanne became proficient in French, Spanish and English, speaking all of them fluently. The father died when she was fifteen and thenceforward, until her marriage to Captain McNair, her home was with her aunt, Mrs. Dodge. There the wedding of Alexander McNair and Marguerite Susanne Reilhe took place in the winter of 1805. Manuscript records of the McNair family preserved by the Missouri Historical Society show that Captain McNair took his bride on a bridal trip, going on horseback to Pittsburg, where he transacted some business, visiting his mother and his sister, Mrs. James Horner, at Wilkinsburgh. Tradition hands down the impression that the wife of the first governor of Missouri was a woman of fine presence and very popular. The domestic relationships which Alexander McNair formed within a year after he settled in St. Louis undoubtedly were of material advantage to him.

Organized philanthropy for St. Louis had its practical beginning in the McNair home. The family was Catholic but when, in 1824, a movement to organize a society for charity service took form, representative women of all creeds came together in the governor's house. They chose the name of "The Female Charitable Society of St. Louis." Mrs. George F. Strother was elected first president and Mrs. McNair the first vice-president.

Ten children were born to Governor and Mrs. McNair. Two of them died the month that the father entered upon his duties as governor—September 1820—the oldest, Stella

Ann, a girl of fifteen who had been attending school in Kentucky, and Benjamin Howard, a boy of seven. A fever that was doing havoc in Missouri at that time was the cause.

Descendants of Governor McNair are widely scattered. Three of the second generation are at this writing residents of Missouri,—the mother of Paul Bakewell, Jr., who was Eugenia Stella McNair, Lilburn G. McNair, and John G. McNair.

One of the last public appearances of Governor McNair was in connection with the visit of Lafayette to St. Louis in 1825. The legislature having refused to make an appropriation for the entertainment and Governor Bates having announced that he would absent himself on the coming of the visitor, April 19, 1825, a citizens' committee was formed to "superintend and direct all arrangements for the reception and accommodation." Governor McNair was a member of the committee.

Retiring from office as governor in 1824, Colonel McNair received the appointment of United States agent for the Osage Indians, the principal tribe at that time within the State of Missouri. He went out to the agency in the winter of 1826, contracted a severe cold, which was followed by an attack of influenza, terminating fatally on the 18th of March, 1826. Mr. Edward Brown, the painstaking biographer of Governor McNair, says:

"From all accounts the disease was similar to the 'Spanish influenza' which recently visited this country with such disastrous results. It was called at the time the 'great cold.' In some parts of the country more than one-half the population were affected and in many cases death resulted within twenty-four to forty-eight hours. Complications of lung fever (pneumonia) and pleurisy were frequent and usually proved fatal."

His wife and eight children, the oldest eighteen years old and the youngest a babe of two weeks, survived Governor McNair. Mrs. McNair lived until June 17th, 1863.

Governor McNair was buried in what was known as the old Military graveyard, the remains being removed to Calvary

Cemetery when that was opened. The burial place is near the Broadway entrance in the oldest part of the cemetery. Until the observance of the centennial of Missouri's statehood, the grave was marked by a small headstone. In October, 1921, a monument of Missouri red granite erected by the Calvary Cemetery Association was unveiled with fitting ceremonies as part of the centennial observance.

THE GRAND RIVER COUNTRY

BY E. W. STEPHENS

Mr. Robert Beverly Price, president of the Boone County National Bank of Columbia, Missouri, will celebrate his ninetieth birthday on October 17th of this year. The event is a memorable one for several reasons and worthy of special record. It is extraordinary for any one to live for ninety years and to retain his faculties, physical and mental, in normal condition in a life replete with business activity and stressful experiences. He has been continuously at the head of a large banking institution in one community for sixty-five years, and is himself the acknowledged dean of Missouri bankers being oldest in years and service of any one in the banking business in Missouri.

He belongs to one of the historic families of Missouri. His grandfather, Mr. Pugh W. Price, came to Missouri from Prince Edward county, Virginia in 1837 and with his large family settled in Chariton county, Missouri. There were four brothers, Sterling, Dr. Edwin, John R. and Pugh, and one sister Miss Pamela, who married Capt. Royall and lived many years in Columbia. All were eminent in their day and generation.

Mr. R. B. Price was the son of Dr. Edwin Price and lived with his father in Brunswick until 1850 when he came to Columbia to attend the University and has resided in that city practically continually since. In early life he developed artistic talent and for several years was identified with the geological survey of Missouri under Prof. G. C. Swallow, and was the draughtsman of the expedition. His sketches admirably wrought will be found in the volumes containing the reports of that survey, and were a valuable contribution to the history of the period. Many of the most important discoveries of the mineral and agricultural wealth of the state, including the lead and zinc deposits of southwest

Missouri and the great cement quarries near Hannibal, were made by this, the most celebrated and thorough exploration of the physical resources of the state that has been made. In this day they are a valuable source of information to those seeking investments in Missouri lands or mines or industries in different sections of the state.

Not the least interesting feature of Mr. Price's career is his memories of the section of the state in which he spent the first twelve years of his life in Missouri. He was six years of age when with his father he came to Missouri and settled in Brunswick which about that time was being laid out by Rev. James Keytes, a Methodist minister, who had founded the town of Keytesville six or seven years before, the town being named in his honor. Brunswick was named for Brunswick Terrace in England from which he came.

Mr. Price recalls the time when wagons laden with tobacco and honey and beeswax, and deer and other skins came to Brunswick by the hundreds, and their contents were shipped by steamboat to St. Louis from Brunswick, then an important shipping point. The Missouri river has since that time changed its current, leaving the town far inland.

Those were the good old steamboating, and coon and bear hunting days, far removed from the centers of civilization, but which in their isolation and the simple and hardy and adventurous lives of the people possess a romance of indefinable charm and interest. While the hardships and privations of the period were severe and the experiences were rude and rough the conditions were favorable to the development of character, and some of the strongest men and women in the history of the state were the products of it. Personalities large physically, mentally and morally were the evolutions of such a period.

His own ancestors were a fine illustration. His father and his brothers were men of gigantic frame and great force of character. His uncle, Gen. Sterling Price, is one of the foremost figures in the history of the state, was Speaker of the House of Representatives, State Bank Commissioner, member of Congress, Governor, General in the Mexican war,

and illustrious in being the commander-in-chief of the soldiers from Missouri who took part in the Civil War upon the confederate side.

Only a few counties remote and not far from the source of the Grand River, lived Alexander W. Doniphan, another Missourian who in physical stature, in eloquence, in chivalry, in leadership, stood like Saul, head and shoulders above his brethren.

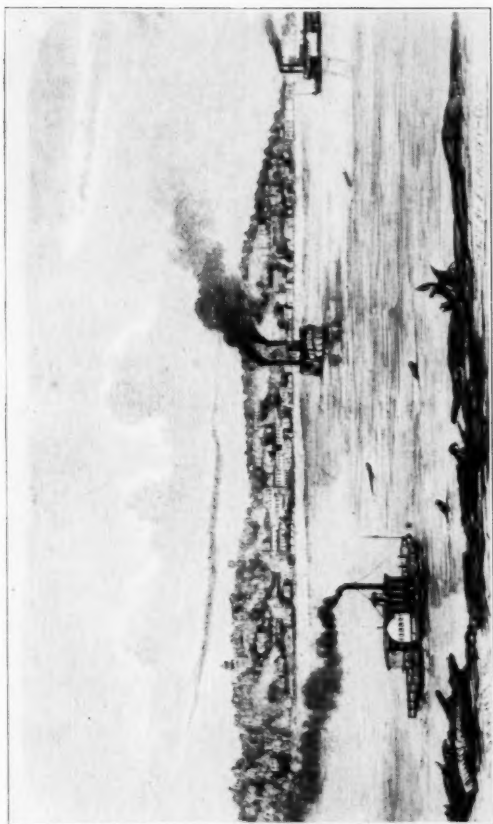
Casper W. Bell and Richard H. Musser, distinguished lawyers of Chariton county, of unusual culture and ability, the Halls, William A. and Willard P., and the marvelous orator, James S. Greene, were among many others of that type who adorn the history of that period and section.

In our own day, Gen. Pershing, Gen. Crowder, Ex-Governor Alexander M. Dockery, Joshua W. Alexander, Secretary of the Interior under President Wilson, and Arthur M. Hyde, present Governor, are fine examples of the type of men whom that section has contributed to the history of Missouri.

The tumultuous Grand River which now and then overleaps its banks and tosses and tumbles farmhouses and villages right and left is not an unfit symbol of the kind of men whom that country has repeatedly flung on to the stage of action in this state.

Among others eminent in those days were Duff Green, editor and publicist, Col. Hiram Craig, Drs. John H. Bull, H. W. Cross, John H. Blue, Drake McDowell and I. P. Vaughan, Major Daniel Ashby, and among the distinguished lawyers who occasionally practiced at the bar of that circuit of which David Todd was judge, were Abiel Leonard, Peyton F. Hayden, John B. Clark, Sr., B. F. Stringfellow, and Peter Able.

Mr. R. B. Price recalls with much interest a famous family by the name of Johnson, the different members of which resided in various sections of the Grand River country. Their father lived in Fayette, where most of them were probably born or to which they came when quite young. They had remarkable names. The boys were Nova Zembla,



BRUNSWICK, BEFORE THE CIVIL WAR.
At the junction of Grand river with the Missouri.
(From Stevens' *Cent. Hist. of Mo.*)



Adamantine, John and Sylvetus Fisher, and the girls were Italy and Sicily. Adamantine married a daughter of Ned Cabell, a well-known pioneer. Her name was Pocahontas, her father having claimed to be a descendant or remote relative of the celebrated Indian maiden. Her brother, Charles Cabell, was a brilliant young lawyer. The Cabell family was distinguished in Virginia as well as Missouri.

Nova Zembla was the oldest and best known of the Johnson boys. He had a large store at Chillicothe, and afterwards at Brunswick, and did a successful business. He later removed to New York where he and one or two of his brothers engaged quite successfully in the banking business.

Many of the humbler class of the pioneers were lacking in educational advantages, but those who were "quality," as the negroes called them, were people of high culture, of courtly grace of manner and many social accomplishments. They were well read, especially in the classics, and while the school advantages and the volume of literature were limited they were more proficient in all branches of knowledge than are the people of this day. The preachers and lawyers and statesmen were able and versed in the fundamentals of religion and government, and their deliverances in the pulpit, on the stump or at the bar were powerful and effective. The women, from the queenly matrons who presided over the homes, to the young women who led in the social life were attractive and charming. Nothing has ever been finer in hospitality than were the homes of that period.

The author of the music of "Ben Bolt," Nelson Kneass, lies buried in the Chillicothe Cemetery. The inspiration for that beautiful song came to him no doubt from the romantic environment of the Grand River Country. Gov. Hyde recently issued a proclamation calling for subscriptions to a monument in his honor to which Mr. R. B. Price has subscribed. The songs of a people are typical of their spirit. Such songs as "Ben Bolt," "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground," "Nelly Gray," "Uncle Ned" and others could only spring from an age and section like that of pioneer Missouri.

It is doubtful if we who enjoy the ease and comfort of the age of automobiles, Pullman cars, electric lights, and all the other modern conveniences recognize what we owe to the day of the ox-wagon, and stage coaches, and tallow candles, and the spinning wheel, which may have caused hardships and discomfort, and occasional profanity, but they produced men and women whose achievements are the glory of the state.

The barefooted boy who "suckered" tobacco in the day time and hunted coons at night, or the country girl who cooked pancakes and wore linsey dresses and a sunbonnet, and who rode on a side-saddle to the country frolic where she danced the modest cotillion until morning, may not have had the fancy dash of the modern beau or belle, but they left behind a civilization which their posterity cherish with pride.

No section of Missouri was more typical of the pioneer period than the Grand River Country in the thirties and the forties. Those were the days of slavery, which let us be thankful, are gone, but they had their compensation in the hospitality of the people, even of the slaves themselves.

Mr. Price recalls the fact that some opposed the running of the railroad from Hannibal to Brunswick for fear the Yankees would come and take their negroes away from them. So it went to St. Joseph, and in fact that section has been since that period more northern in its spirit and tendencies than has been that along the Missouri River farther south.

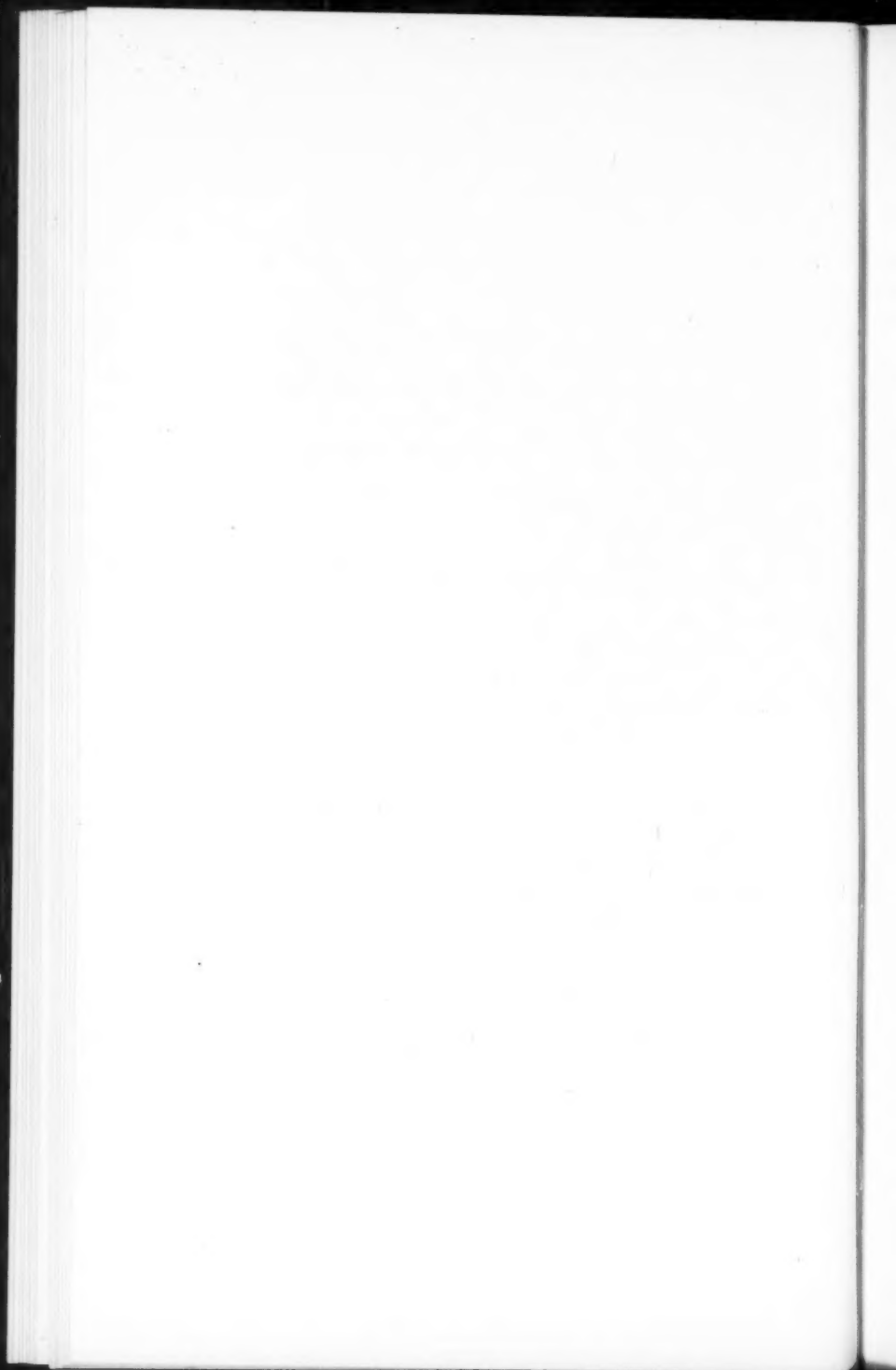
Up to the time of the building of the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad, the trade of Brunswick extended to the Iowa line and it cherished prospects of becoming a metropolis. But the building of that railroad dashed its hopes.

During the first fifteen or twenty years it was the center of a most interesting trade, was the rendezvous of the trappers and hunters for a hundred miles, a section that was a veritable paradise for the pioneer whose life and trade were along the beautiful streams, in the wild forest and among the pioneer scenes of that romantic period.

The social life of that time is one of its delightful memo-



GRAND RIVER VALLEY IN EARLY DAYS.
(From Stevens' Cent. Hist. of Mo.)



ries, the cultured women, the abundant board, the fiddle, the banjo, the piano, the fireside, the well-read and ample library, and all the happy elements of the real home. It had its faults. So has our day. But it had its benefits—not the least of which has been the splendid men and women left to commemorate it.

Whisky and ignorance were the evils of the olden time. We may be glad that both have largely disappeared. But we may also have reason to lament that with them has gone much that was not evil, but better than we have today, the hospitality, the thoroughness, the industry, the honesty and the economy that were the glories of those good old days.

THE FOLLOWERS OF DUDEN

BY WILLIAM G. BEK.

TENTH ARTICLE.

THE VIGILANCE ORGANIZATION.

"In the winter of 1841 to 1842 the settlements in the counties of Warren and Franklin, especially those bordering on the river were wildly excited because the popular physician, Dr. John Jones had been assassinated from ambush on his farm near Marthasville. Chance had willed it that a member of a band of counterfeiters had become known to him. The latter had been arrested and awaited trial. The assertions which Dr. Jones would have made in court, would have had much weight, and likely would have meant the conviction of the accused man. It was assumed that another member of the band had committed the deed of murder.

"For some time it had been suspected that somewhere in the wild hills, between the watershed of the Femme Osage and the Missouri, a band of counterfeiters were carrying on their unlawful business. It had been observed that strangers came to certain persons, but it was impossible to ascertain who they were, whence they came, and whither they went. On a certain day a young man, who lived in that region, came to the doctor to pay a bill, and remitted the entire amount in newly coined pieces of money. The doctor was suspicious, but let the young man go. When the money was subjected to careful tests, it was found, that every dollar was counterfeit. The young man was arrested and stated, that he had received the money from one of his neighbors. This neighbor had long been suspected of being in league with counterfeiters. He was arrested and held for trial at the next circuit court.

"A son of the doctor had seen the man, who shot his father, and declared he could identify him again. A few of the old backwoodsmen started out to find the suspect.

The pursuit was a fine demonstration of the keenness, perseverance, and patience of these men of the woods, for they followed their man, the alleged murderer, thru Missouri, Arkansas into Texas and brought him back. The trial of this man of many aliases was a farce, for several witnesses from Tennessee succeeded in proving an alibi, the testimony of the boy, a blood relative of the slain man, was taken lightly and the jury brought in a verdict of 'not guilty.' If the pursuers of the alleged murderer had suspected, that such would be the result of the trial, they probably would not have brought the man back. It happened quite often, that stolen horses were brought back, but not the thief, and if one asked concerning him, the laconic reply was: 'He will not steal any more,' then no one asked any more questions, for the 'why' was well known without comment.

"After this incident it seemed as tho more pedestrians than formerly were seen in the great bottoms. Most of them pretended to seek work, but none of them worked for more than a few days, leaving the job under some trifling pretext. Some considered them to be accomplices of the murderer, others saw in them spying horse thieves, while still others suspected them to be counterfitters. Suspicion against these vagabonds reached a high pitch, and the settlers on the north side of the river resolved to clear the great bottom from Loutre creek to St. Charles of these fellows. In the counties of St. Charles, Warren, Montgomery, and Callaway extensive vigilance organizations were formed. Trustworthy persons have told me, that at first numerous mounted patrols scoured the extensive bottoms by day and by night. They stopped every pedestrian, whom they did not know, and subjected him to a sharp cross-examination. If he could not give a satisfactory account of himself and otherwise looked suspicious, the unfortunate one was tied to a tree and almost whipped to death, and even worse things are said to have occurred.

"It may be hard to tell how much truth and how much fiction there was in these reports, but this much is certain, that vigilance patrols were in full activity in the middle of

the summer of 1842. I know this from personal experience, since I fell into their hands myself.

"In the spring of that year I had been married to a young lady in St. Charles county, and in the summer I went over to get a cow, which my parents-in-law had, according to the custom of that time, given their daughter as a part of her dowery. Provided with a strong rope and a stick, I started out on my mission on foot, for a trip of twenty to thirty miles meant nothing to me at that time. At Washington I crossed the river in a skiff. The ferryman landed me on a sandbar, which existed in the middle of the river, and during this dry season extended entirely to the other side. After landing, I noticed a troop of horsemen on the upper end of the sandbar, but paid no heed to them. After I had passed the bridge over the Tuque creek, I suddenly heard the tramping of horses on the bridge and presently a command of 'halt' rang out. Surprised but unafraid I looked around and saw seven or eight horsemen galloping toward me, and in an instant I was surrounded. In whatever direction I looked, I saw only serious faces or the muzzels of guns pointed at me. I was subjected to a sharp cross-examination. They wanted to know who I was, where I lived, how long I had lived there, what I wanted to do with the rope, what my father-in-law's name was, whether I had just crossed the river in the skiff,—this point seemed especially important to them,—finally one of the older men said, if I had lived that long on the other side of the river, I ought to be able to call the names of some of the men living there. I recounted the names of almost half of the American population over there. They smiled and whispered among themselves. Now I began to ask, what they meant by this hold-up on a public highway, and what they wanted of me. After a pause one of them said: 'Well, sir, we are looking for some one, but you are not the one. You can go your way in peace, but if you meet anyone today, don't tell him that you have seen us. Good bye.' With that the whole troop turned their horses, and in a few minutes had disappeared in the forest.

"I have never heard of a peaceful, law-abiding citizen or decent traveler, whether on foot or on horseback, being insulted or mistreated by these illegal patrols in the older counties. Their very existence was occasioned by the unsatisfactory execution of the law.

BAD ROADS.

"In 1834 St. Louis already deserved the name of city, but what a city compared with the present St. Louis. The oldest living citizens of St. Louis may perhaps be interested in a reminder of the condition of the streets as they were thirty years ago.

"In 1846 a beginning had been made at macadamizing one of the main roads to the west, the so-called Manchester road, but at the beginning of 1847 this road building had not extended far beyond the old Camp Spring. Camp Spring was situated about a mile west of the present court house. It was a little, natural park, with a restaurant, which was at that time often frequented by citizens of St. Louis, when they wished to make a little excursion with their families. Directly across from the restaurant a German by the name of Knecht had built a rather large hotel and entertained chiefly the farmers who came from this side to the city. The traffic was very lively on this street, milk and meat wagons, wood and coal wagons, entire caravans of farm wagons, and large herds of beef cattle passed on this road from early in the morning till late at night. It is therefore easily conceivable, that with the heavy traffic this road became bottomless when the ground thawed in the spring.

"During the last days in February 1847, I decided to visit my parents who were then living in St. Louis. A friend who had business in the city accompanied me. Even in Washington, fifty-four miles from St. Louis, we were advised to postpone our trip, since the roads in the neighborhood of St. Louis were said to be unpassable, and almost all communication with the city had been interrupted. Since we regarded this report as exaggerated, we rode on and found the road in places indeed very muddy, but not any worse

than they ordinarily were during this season. Toward evening it struck us, however, that during the entire day we had not met a single conveyance on this otherwise so lively road and had not overtaken any either. During the first night we stopped at the house of Mr. Brueggerhoff, whom I have mentioned before. Mr. B. had ridden to town, had been expected back for twenty-four hours, and Mrs. B. was very anxious, for fear that some misfortune might have overtaken her husband on the terrible roads.

"On the following morning, when we were just about to mount our horses again, two young Americans came by. They were from the northwestern part of the state and were on their way to the city. They were pleasant men and promised to be good company, so we joined them. Beyond Manchester the roads became worse and worse. Now and then we saw flocks of crows fly up and buzzards sat on the branches of nearby trees. Our approach had disturbed them in their meal, which they made of horses and oxen that had died in the mud. We met a few empty wagons, but could scarcely distinguish, whether horses or cattle were hitched to them. In many instances only the heads of the animals were free of mud, the rest of the body was covered with a uniform, thick coat of yellow mud. The road thru the long lowlands beyond Manchester was fearful. This region, which abounds in springs, was one continuous, almost unfathomable morass, so that the horses sank in to their bellies at every step. Finally we got onto higher ground, but since the sun was not high any more, we resolved to stop for the night with an American, who lived eight miles from the city, and risk the most dangerous part of the way in daylight. Before we reached the house, we were overtaken by a young fellow, whose large leathern, strongly chained and locked saddle bag identified him as a mail carrier to us. We interrogated him, and he told us that there were some places along the road, which were very dangerous to the uninitiated, but since he had to make that trip every day, he knew the bad places very well and would guide us, provided we would give him a good drink of whiskey from

time to time. We accepted his proposal unanimously, and at the next saloon bought a large bottle of whiskey. With the approach of twilight, we noticed that we were in the vicinity of the city, for all at once our horses had solid footing. We were on a part of macadamized road. We fancied that all danger was now over, but our guide pointed out that the real danger was yet ahead. The solid road ceased after a few hundred yards, for only an especially bad portion of the road had thus been fixed up. Now the mail carrier turned off the road to the left, and we rode up a small hill, from which we could overlook a part of the town. As far as we could see in the twilight almost all fences of the many fields and garden had been torn down. Supplies had to be gotten into the city, and since the roads were unpassable the teamsters had tried to get thru the fields. Over a width of a quarter of a mile, we could notice that teams had tried to get thru. All had not succeeded in this attempt. Several wagons had been abandoned, having sunk into the fields so that the front wheels were entirel out of sight. We saw men attempting to unhitch the horses from one wagon. Only the heads and necks of the animals were visible. The teamsters stood in mud up to their hips.

"The last short stretch of the way led straight into the city and was lined on both sides with board fences. Here the mail carrier got off. He gave to one of us his buffalo robe and to another the mail bag, and proceeded to give us directions. We were told to ride in single file directly behind his horse, but to leave sufficient space between each other, so that, in case of necessity, we could come to each others assistance, and not all get stuck in the mud at the same time. He hung the reins of his horse over his right arm and walked on the lowest plank of the fence, holding on to the uppermost plank, and thus pushing himself along. The rest of us rode as directed, but if our horses had not been very strong animals, we should never have gotten thru. With every step our horses sank to their bellies into the mud, and we could not allow them to rest for fear they would mire down entirely.

While our guide toilsomely worked himself along the

fence, he pointed to a spot, where we could see a couple of ox horns sticking out of the mud, and our guide said: 'In that hole there are several that you cannot see any more.' After ten minutes we were on the paving, and all danger was over. In the city the lights had already been lighted. The common danger had made good friends of us and we parted cordially. The thought of the return journey troubled us a great deal. On the morning of our departure we noticed that the ground had frozen hard during the night. When we came to the treacherous place, we saw a herd of steers that was driven over the one-time morass. We too crossed then in safety and in ease. That evening we stopped with Brueggerhof again, and the following evening we were at our own fireside.

"During the period of mud the prices of provisions, coal and wood had doubled in St. Louis.

"He who knows only the city of today, with all its improvements, will hardly be able to believe that thirty years ago one could get stuck in a morass, one mile from the courthouse.

LAND GRANTS AND RELATED MATTERS.

"The first land that came into private hands was in the form of the Spanish and later the French grants or claims. Such grants were often given as compensation for services rendered the government. They often embraced as many as 6,000 to 8,000 arpents.* An arpent is a fraction more than 9-10 of an acre. There were also other kinds of grants which were known as headrights.

"In order to encourage settlements, the Spaniards, and also the French, granted a piece of land containing from 300 to 600 arpents to every one who could prove that he had made a clearing on public lands, and who declared, that he intended to become a bona fide settler. This land the in-

*Under the word arpent we read in Webster's International Dictionary as follows: 'Arpent—an old French measure of land varying in value with the locality. The arpent d'ordonnance was equivalent to 1.28 acres; the arpent 1.04 acres, and the arpent de Paris to .84 acres. The last is in common use in parts of Canada.'

terested party had to have surveyed, where and in whatever shape it pleased him. The description of the field-notes were then registered, and in agreement with them the deed was made out.

"Many of these clearings or 'improvements' consisted only of a few square rods of land, that had been planted to corn. A hut made of fencerails represented the dwelling house. Many of the settlers left their clearing, as soon as they had the deed in their hands, some returned and really did become settlers, many never returned, but squandered their land for a bagatelle, for in those days but little value was attached to the possession of land,

"Most of these claims were situated along the banks of the Missouri and the Mississippi and do not extend far inland. They are not always contiguous to one another, but, as a rule, they represent more or less regular quadrangles. Their boundary lines by no means always coincide with the north-south, east-west lines, but run as it pleased the fancy and convenience of the one selecting the land. A chart upon which a large number of these claims is represented does not look unlike a table on which a pack of cards has been irregularly scattered about.

"After the Louisiana territory had come into possession of the United States, the public lands were surveyed according to a definite and ingenious scheme, and then offered the settlers for sale. These surveys of the land into sections were made when Missouri, Illinois, Arkansas, etc., were still territories.

"The old government surveyors, according to instruction, marked only the outer boundaries of the sections. They determined the four corners of the section, between them the half mile corners and also the quarter section corners. The subdivision of the section into quarters, eights and sixteenths was the business of the county surveyors.

"The first surveyors were instructed to give ample measure. This direction they complied with in the most liberal manner, for most of the sections are too large, and sometimes indeed a good deal too large. Consequently a

section often contains more than 640 acres. Since the sections were subdivided evenly this excess was distributed evenly. A forty-acre piece therefore often contains from two to six more acres than the exact forty. The government asked no additional pay for such excess of acres, if on the other hand, due to the inattention of the surveyor or his assistants the section accidentally was made a little too small, the government paid no rebate either. Many townships and sections remained fractional, if the survey was interrupted by navigable rivers, or by old Spanish land grants, for the government accepted the validity and legality of these old claims and their boundaries could not be trespassed.

"Very many of the first settlers had established homes in the woods and on the prairies of Missouri long before the public land had been surveyed. These squatters had the pre-emption right when the land was finally divided into sections. They were granted a period of two years during which they could buy the land, on which they had settled. The price asked them for this land was at the rate of \$1.25 an acre. If they allowed this time to pass without taking advantage of their pre-emption right, any person had the right to buy the land from the government, without first compensating the squatter for his 'improvement.' If any one, however, was so foolhardy as to drive such an old settler from his house and home in this manner, even tho the law sanctioned it, he was not sure of his life. According to the code of morals of these old backwoodsmen such an expulsion was a crime deserving death. If a rifle bullet made an end to such an intruder, even tho the murderer was known, he had the sympathy of all the backwoodsmen, and as a rule there was no legal proceeding against him.

"After the public lands had been surveyed, land offices were established. The purchaser paid the fixed sum of \$1.25 per acre and received a certificate certifying to the sale of the land. A duplicate of this certificate was sent to Washington to the General Land Office, and in a short time the purchaser received a land patent, made out on parchment, and bearing the signature of the President of the United States.

At first the sale of public lands proceeded slowly, but about the middle of the thirties the influx of immigration increased enormously. The low lands along the Missouri were occupied first, in the western part chiefly by slave holders, most of whom came from Virginia and Kentucky. The land along the smaller rivers and the great prairies remained almost untouched for many years. Very rarely did one find a settler in the narrow valleys or on the edge of the prairie.

"At the beginning of the fifties the opinion obtained generally that all the good land in Missouri had been taken up. In the land offices it had become very quiet. Then new life was instilled into the sale of public lands by the passage of the Graduation Act by Congress. It is, of course, apparent that the division into sections of so large a state as Missouri could not be accomplished in a short time. Many years passed before the last survey had been handed in. For this reason the public lands were not put on the market all at once but little by little. By the Graduation Act the price of land was greatly reduced in price, according to a definite scheme. Land that had been on the market for twenty years, and remained unsold, was offered at $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per acre, that is to say that for \$5.00 one could buy 40 acres of land. Similarly land that had come into the market at later periods was reduced to 25, 50, and 75 cents per acre respectively.

"To prevent speculators from buying up large tracts of land and thereby preventing real settlements, it was provided that an individual could make only one purchase, and that not to exceed 320 acres, moreover this land had to be all in one tract. Settlers who already owned land likewise had the right to buy to the amount of 320 acres, but the new purchase had to be adjacent to the land which they already owned.

"It was never the intention of the national government to make money from the sale of land. The price of \$1.25 per acre netted only a very slight surplus over the cost of surveying and the cost of maintaining the land offices. The early purchasers, had, so to speak, taken the cream of the

land. Only the poorer tracts and those parts that were totally unfit for agricultural purposes were left, and these did not seem to be saleable at the old price. For this reason the Graduation Act was passed, and it accomplished its purpose very well, for not only the poorer land but also thousands of acres of totally worthless stony hills were sold at the reduced rate.

"Soon after it became generally known that one could purchase forty acres of land for \$5.00, an interesting spectacle could be observed in the street in St. Louis, where the land office was located. So dense was the crowd at times, that the police had to make way for teams to pass. Many persons who accidentally came to town and learned the cause of the great gathering of people remained in order to become possessors of 320 acres for \$40.00. The regular officers of the land office were wholly unable to handle the crowd. Even after assistance had been provided, it was impossible to keep pace with the impetuosity of the buyers.

"The story is told that when the rush of purchasers was greatest, and the fear took hold of the crowd, that there would not be land enough to go around, some engaged shyster lawyers to assist them in the obtaining of certificates. In some instances they paid as much for the aid of the lawyers as they did for the land itself. Such unjust extortion the purchaser had only himself to blame for. If he had not been so land hungry and thoughtless, he would have given the agents time to look up the original field notes of the surveyors. The early government surveyors had been instructed among other things to note in their report for each section, whether it was forest covered or prairie land, whether the land was good or bad, level or hilly, dry or swampy, even the kinds of trees that abounded and the nature of their growth was called for. From these data any one, who knew anything about wild land, could judge, with a good deal of definiteness and certainty concerning the nature of the land. So for example most of the sections along the sources and watersheds of the Meramec, St. Francois, Black river, Current, the two Pineys, Robidoux and Gasconade were described in

the records as 'hilly, broken, not fit for cultivation.' Even such lands were at that time bought by the thousands of acres.

"Old farmers who wished to enlarge their possessions, or those, who had seen and picked out their land, knew just what they were getting for their money. But the great number of these impatient land buyers knew absolutely nothing of land values. Some had never been outside of the city. They imagined, that of such a large piece of land some parts must have good soil, and that they in no event could lose in their purchase. How bitterly many were disappointed! Since such buyers really knew nothing except, that they wished to have cheap land, they had to leave it to the agents of the land office to give them the numbers of the still unsold tracts of land. When they had exchanged their good money for a certificate of purchase, they were just as wise as before, for on such a certificate there was absolutely nothing but the designation of the several parts of the section, to most purchasers unintelligible, the number of the section, the township, the range, and the acknowledgment of payment received. With such a certificate in their hand, they knew neither in what direction, in what county, or at what distance they were to look for their land.

"The locating of the land often caused the new owner much trouble, loss of time, and expense. Without assistance most of them could not find their newly acquired possession. When finally an old settler or a hunter, acquainted with the country, or a surveyor led them into the labyrinth of stony hills, and told them that that was their land, most of them became dejected and forever turned their backs upon their land, and also upon their aircastles. Since they declined to pay taxes on a wilderness of stones, the land fell back to the state, after a certain number of years, so that this land was again as masterless as it had been before the first survey.

"After the war with Mexico, in 1846, Congress passed a law which granted to each soldier an extra compensation of 160 acres of land. Later this law was extended to apply to those who had participated in the campaign against Eng-

land in 1812, and also the few survivors of 1776 received this preferment.

"Everyone who had such a 'military land warrant' could pick out 160 acres in any state in which unsold public land was located. As soon as he had located his warrant the federal government issued him a title to such land. These warrants could be sold or transferred to others, and so there grew up a terrible abuse of these papers. Only a few of the discharged soldiers utilized their warrants and selected a good piece of land for the establishment of a future home. Most of them sold their warrants, with which they really did not know what to do. Sometimes when they had gotten into straitened circumstances they sold them for a mere pittance. According to the price of land, such warrants for 160 acres were worth \$200, but for this sum the papers could not be sold. It is safe to assume that on an average they did not net more than \$100. Trifling fellows even squandered their warrants, so to say, for a song.

"Those were the golden days for the landsharks. They had their agents buy great quantities of such papers, and since at that time public lands in the newer states, chiefly in Iowa and Wisconsin, were put on the market, these usurers, by virtue of these warrants, laid claim to enormous tracts of the best land, thereby forcing the real, industrious but poor settlers, who are a blessing to a new state, to either content themselves with poorer land, or to buy at the usurer's price the land which the latter had obtained for a mere bagatelle.

"The intention of Congress to recognize materially the services of the nation's defenders was laudable. As it turned out, however, a cash payment of the amount actually realized by most of the soldiers would have been but a small drain upon the public funds. The actual consequences of this law only led to the establishment of a monopoly of avaricious land speculators, and thus only a few useless bloodsuckers were fattened by the sweat of thousands of diligent and enterprising, poor workers. The intention of the law might have been reached if it had been so amended

as to provide against the transfer of the warrants under all circumstances, and to make it optional with the original holders of these warrants to either locate their warrants on public lands for their own use, or to take a stipulated equivalent in money to be paid out of the federal treasury.

"In 1851 Congress passed the 'Swampland Act.' At first this act was operative only in Missouri and Arkansas, but later it was extended to other states. The proceeds from the sale of swamp and overflow lands were to be added to the state school funds. The legislature of Missouri changed the act to apply to all counties having swamp and overflow lands. At first it was intended to apply only to the inundated counties in the southeastern part of the state. Later it was decided that the determination as to what constituted swamp lands was in each county to be made by a commission. In many counties these commissions put not only swampy land and land subject to inundation on this list, but occasionally also thousands of acres that never had been under water, high and dry prairie and timber lands. The lists setting forth the swamp lands were submitted to the land office at Washington, and after receiving its approval, the land was deeded to the state. The amount of swamp land seemed excessively high and made the officials suspicious, so that they consulted the old original field notes, where they discovered that some counties that had no rivers at all, and even some of the counties in the Ozarks, claimed to have lands that were subject to inundation. A searching investigation was instituted at Washington and the result was that many claims were thrown out. Nevertheless the total area of the so-called swamp lands in Missouri amounts to nearly 3,000,000 acres.

"Unfortunately a minimum price was not fixed for these lands when they were turned over to the counties. So it happened that, due to the incomprehensible blindness of some county commissioners, these, in part, very valuable lands were sold to cunning, rapacious speculators for a beggarly price, even as low as two to three cents an acre. It even happened that the school fund was cheated out of this pittance.

"Only a few years after the Swampland Act was passed Congress made very extensive land grants to various railroad companies. In a strip of land fifteen miles wide, on both sides of the proposed road, every other section of public land was given them as grants. The sections that fell to the railroads were always those that bore even numbers.

THE OVERFLOW OF THE MISSOURI IN 1844.

"In the ordinary course of events the Missouri river begins to rise about the fore part of June and continues to rise gradually till about the last of the same month. Then it subsides again in less time than it took to rise. During such years the river submerges all the sandbars but never rises to the top of the main bank. This regular rising of the water is caused by the melting of the snow in the Rocky Mountains.

"If it is considered that it requires at least ten days before the snow water from the mountains can arrive at the western border of the state, one can form an approximately correct idea of the vast extent of territory which has to be traversed by this water, and the immense amount of water which fills the river channel.

"These common events, however, assume quite a different aspect when during a severe winter the snow is very deep in the mountains, and when the snow does not melt gradually but in connection with heavy showers of rain. If in addition to this the tributaries of the Missouri within the state itself have risen in consequence of continued, general rains, and have swelled the river to an unusual height, a submersion of the banks and the bottoms must be the inevitable consequence, when the snow water makes its appearance at such a critical moment. This was the condition in the summer of 1844.

"As early as May, soon after the corn had been planted, frequent showers fell. These irregular, chance showers soon changed to general rains. It rained more or less almost every day. The cultivation of the corn soon became an impossibility. It still rained during the harvest time, that is during

the latter part of June, so much so that the small amount of wheat raised at that time could scarcely be harvested. One of my neighbors and myself were helping one another. Every few hours we were driven off the field by fresh showers. We were obliged to go barefooted into the fields, because with shoes or boots on we should have stuck in the mud.

"At the beginning of June the Missouri was higher than its highest stage in ordinary years. Still it continued to rise from day to day. The water in the tributaries had backed up from eight to ten miles, and had submerged all their bottoms near their mouths. Thru the sloughs, which perhaps indicate prehistoric river-beds, the water was effused into the bottoms from the rear, and very soon all the land, except an occasional elevated spot between the hills, on both sides of the river, was under water.

"Conditions similar to those that obtained along the Missouri also obtained along the Mississippi above its confluence with the Missouri, making the withdrawal of the water from the Missouri Valley very slow.

"The Missouri afforded a frightful and at the same time imposing aspect, when it had attained the highest stage. Multitudes of people gazed at it with awe for hours, witnessing the uninterrupted and incessant changes and alterations on the surface of the stream. As far as the eye could reach nothing could be seen but tree tops and water. Far away among the tree trunks the water was glistening in the sunlight. The gaps among the trees indicated that there fields had been submerged. A roof or a chimney projecting out of the water showed where the homes had been. The stream proper presented the most manifold entertainment. Even at some distance there could be heard the splashing and roaring of the mighty river. Large flakes of thick, dirty foam, embracing an area of acres, rolled down the stream. Bursting bubbles dispersed these large fields of scum into many small ones. Dense masses of driftwood were seen amid the foam. Fence rails, cord wood, furniture and occasionally whole log houses drifted by. The large giants of the forest glided down stream easily as if they had been matches.

Drowned livestock floated by, and occasionally a live animal was seen struggling with the waves.

"The settlers in the bottoms had not been surprised by the overflow. The people had been informed of the unusual amount of snow in the mountains by the fur-trading firms in St. Louis, who had been advised by the men in charge of their deposits on the upper Missouri, also by the remotest military posts and finally by the little steamers which ran toward the source of the river, as far as the latter was navigable. The old experienced settlers in the bottoms removed their families, their stock and a good deal of their personal property to the hills. The inexperienced and the negligent succeeded in saving their lives but lost nearly all of their property.

"In August the sandbars were visible again. Ali prospect of crops in the bottoms was gone, of course. Piles of sand had been drifted upon many fields. The fences had been almost all washed away, tho not all into the main stream. Thousands of rails had been lodged in the underbrush and among the trees. In some places they had been piled as high as a house. These rails were gathered up and hauled away as soon as the ground was dry enough. However, very few of them were recovered by the original owners. Whoever could reach such a pile of rails first, hauled away what he wanted, because nobody could tell from whence these rails had come.

"A great deal of livestock had perished. Some, which had chanced to survive the catastrophe, returned after a while to their old homes. Some horses had found a refuge on some isolated, elevated knolls in the bottoms. These poor animals must have suffered intensely from hunger, since all limbs and twigs to the thickness of a finger had been eaten away as far as they could reach them. It was related at that time that when the highest of these spots had been submerged, the horses had stood closely crowded together up to their bellies in water, while the poor colts were swimming around them.

"Strange incidents were related in those days. Among

others this one was recited. One of the small boats that went far up the river was returning at the time when the water was falling fast. In a region where the prairies border on both sides the stream had the appearance of a considerable lake. The crew was astonished one night that the boat had run aground and on the next morning they discovered that they had missed the main channel in the dark and had lodged far out on the prairie.

"Old people asserted at the time of the great overflow that in the seventh or eighth decades of the 18th century the river had been much higher than in 1844. It may be difficult to ascertain the correctness of this statement positively, since in those days white men had not yet settled permanently among the streams in the far west.

ABOUT CITIES AND TOWNS.

"At the time when St. Louis exhibited visible signs of future importance, prices were asked and paid for building lots which were considered very extravagant in those days, but now these prices would be deemed ridiculously trifling. It seems that this boom in building lots had given birth to a kind of mania for city founding. Many owners of land along the Missouri, Germans as well as Americans, suddenly came to the conclusion that their own particular piece of property was just exactly suited for a new city. Accordingly they proceeded to lay out a town, that is to say, they had a parcel of land surveyed in town lots and streets. The streets of such a prospective town were named after great men and women, then a nicely drawn design was lithographed, and the copies disseminated in every direction. By means of explanatory pamphlets and glowing advertisements the purchase of such lots was represented as a most valuable investment.

"Only a very few of these city-founders have been successful. Most of the attempts ended in the establishment of insignificant villages which fluctuate in a condition of being and not being. Still others of these lithographed cities have never outgrown their embryonic stage, and when the

last peg designating the corner of a lot had fallen down, the first and last trace of a town had disappeared.

"When we came to Missouri in 1834 the buffalo and the elk were still hunted on the sites where Kansas City and St. Joseph are now located. Hardly ten years subsequently these two towns, now the most flourishing and the most populous next to St. Louis, emerged in the immediate proximity of the endless prairies of the great West.

"More remote from the two large rivers, the Mississippi and the Missouri, there were, before the Civil War and prior to the epoch of railroad building, but very few groups of houses which deserve the name of town. It is true that every county had a county seat, and every county seat was called a town. Most of these towns, however, could boast of only a few stores, poorly supplied, a blacksmith shop, the courthouse itself, which in many instances was only a log house, and a very modest tavern for the accommodation of the judge and the attorneys during the session of the court, and sometimes a few private cabins.

"Springfield in the southwestern part of Missouri was distinguished very favorably from the other insignificant country towns. Its prosperity is attributed in a large measure to the very fertile prairie region in which it is situated, and to the trade which it enjoyed by being situated on the old road which for many years connected with the southwest, namely Texas and the Indian Territory. Quite early Springfield became a distributing point for goods from St. Louis to the surrounding counties. Since the southwest devoted itself chiefly to stock raising in those days, immense herds of livestock were transported thru that town on their way to eastern markets. Another source of income was the great number of 'movers,' who flocked to Texas after the war with Mexico, and who passed thru Springfield, where they replenished their supplies, at good prices, and of course only for cash.

"In spite of all these advantages, Springfield was even in 1867 only an average town. The completion of several railroads had been interrupted by the outbreak of the Civil

War. Only one railroad, the one from Hannibal to St. Joseph, had been completed. The most important railroad, from St. Louis to Kansas City, was in operation only as far as Sedalia, 190 miles west of St. Louis. The remaining 100 miles of this road to the state's western border were finished during the last years of the war. The southwest branch was completed as far as Rolla, about 100 miles east of Springfield. Thus the whole southwest of the state had been cut off to some extent from the rest of the world during the period of our domestic troubles.

"In consequence of these conditions Sedalia had been the terminus of the Pacific railroad for a term of four or five years, and during this time had grown to a town of great commercial significance. This town is also situated in the midst of a very fertile and comparatively level country. The whole trade of the west and the southwest of the state, as well as a considerable portion of the stock trade from Texas, was concentrated at this point. In a few years this little unsightly village, which had nothing to show in the spring of 1863 but one or two rows of very modest frame shanties had grown to be a town of imposing dimensions.

"During the fall of 1867 I spent several months in the southwest. In Sedalia, I found on both sides of the broad streets long rows of four and five story brick buildings and very prosperous stores and shops. From Sedalia I traveled leisurely thru the counties of Benton, Hickory, Polk, Cedar and Dade to Springfield in Greene County. After a sojourn of a few weeks, I continued my trip thru Lawrence county to Newton county, and after another delay I returned to Sedalia by a route thru the counties of Jasper, Barton and St. Clair, and lastly thru Benton again to Pettis county.

"Altho peace had been restored two years previously, the traces of the war could be perceived only too plainly. Many lone stone chimneys in the forest and on the prairies, and many waste fields without fences indicated the sites where before the war farms had been. The insecurity of life and property during the Civil War had repressed immi-

gration. After the restoration of tranquillity the influx of new settlers became greater than ever. Almost from the very hour when Missouri was proclaimed a free state immigration poured into every part of the state. Many of these immigrants only passed thru Missouri on their route to the southern part of Kansas, but thousands settled and became citizens of the state. During the fall of 1867 large and small trains of immigrant wagons were met or overtaken on every highway. The appearance of the teams generally betrayed whether the owner was well-to-do or poor. Some of these wagons were drawn by poor horses. In the conveyance one frequently saw a woman with a child at her breast. Behind the wagon some half-grown boys and girls, bareheaded and barefooted, drove some cows and calves. Not infrequently long trains of new strong wagons were seen, packed high with an overabundance of household goods and kitchen utensils. These wagons were drawn by splendid four-horse teams, and frequently a little herd of fine cattle of improved breed followed. At times even a carriage containing the ladies brought up the rear. At every place where the roads, thus frequented, crossed creeks or branches, the yet smoking remnants of campfires could be seen daily, where immigrants had spent the preceding night.

"Probably most of those who settled in Missouri about that time came from the free states, principally from Ohio and Indiana, but also many came from Iowa, Wisconsin and Michigan. The latter were perhaps induced to migrate in order to escape the severity of the winters in their old homes.

"During my trip thru almost the entire southwest, I wrote a series of articles, some for a Republican newspaper, recently started, the 'Fortschritt,' and some in accordance with the wishes of some of the members of the State Board of Agriculture. The latter essays were written in the English language, and were embodied in due time into the annual official report of the Board of Agriculture of the General Assembly, and thus came to the knowledge of the general public.

"Let us now turn to some of the little towns along the Missouri, which are inhabited almost exclusively by Germans. At the time when the founding of towns was believed to be a solid basis of wealth and prosperity, two towns were laid out in St. Charles county, close to the banks of the Missouri. One of these towns was called Mount Pleasant and the other Dortmund. They were adjoining one another. Mount Pleasant was laid out by an American named Harold. The name of the town was later changed to Augusta. Dortmund was founded by a German, Julius Mallinkrodt. However, I am not aware that ever another house was built there except the dwelling and outbuildings of Mr. Mallinkrodt. This gentleman succeeded far better by the cultivation of an extensive nursery, which enjoyed a very good reputation for many years, than by the sale of building lots.

"Augusta, which was favored at that time by an excellent steamboat landing, grew rather rapidly at first. Since, however, all conditions upon which the growth of a town depends, except the excellent steamboat landing, were wanting, the village never enlarged far beyond 100 houses. The town is situated on a hill between two small creeks, which empty into the river above and below the town. The bottoms of these creeks are narrow, but they are densely settled by Germans. The connection with the railroad on the south side of the river was very inconvenient. Moreover, the once excellent boat landing was ruined of late by an enormous sandbar, which drifted up just in front of the town. Thus the farmers in the bottoms above and below Augusta are compelled to take their surplus either to Washington or St. Charles. Some of the farmers indeed ship their produce from some of the various boat landings along the river directly to St. Louis. Hence Augusta is compelled to rely for support upon the patronage of a rather limited, wealthy neighborhood.

"To the man who measures success only in the terms of business, the town of Augusta will not be particularly attractive. For genuine social enjoyment it has much in store. Among those who have rendered conspicuous aid

in this direction we should mention in particular John Fuhr. His father had bought a farm in the vicinity of Frierich Muench on Lake Creek in the year 1837. Besides farming he followed the trade of shoemaking. John was the oldest of five brothers. From early childhood he had evinced a good deal of talent and still more zeal for music. He had received his first musical instruction in Germany. Here in Missouri he instructed one after the other of his brothers in this beautiful art, as soon as they were large enough to handle a bow. Tho his little orchestra at first played only simple music, it was a real treat to hear genuine harmony again.

"After John had married he moved to Augusta where he carried on his fathers business, as shoemaker, on a greatly enlarged scale. Music was a real passion with him. Whenever he began to perceive the least talent for music in any of the young men of the town, he importuned them until they consented to let him instruct them gratuitously. In the same manner he prevailed upon his apprentices and journeymen who had an ear for music. By such indefatigable preservance he succeeded in the course of time to educate and organize an orchestra of some 18 young musicians. Thus the occasional balls were enlivened by imposing music, but also experts from operas and compositions of the old masters of music were played with great precision. John Fuhr awakened and enlivened in many the love for the delightful and enobling art of music. His concerts and other musical performances furnished his many friends many, many pleasant hours. In most of the country towns where Germans lived in sufficient numbers, regular bands were organized, but there were not many towns which could rival successfully with John Fuhr's orchestra in the little town of Augusta, as far as artistic adroitness is concerned.

"Washington is situated about eight miles above Augusta on the south side of the Missouri. It was founded by William Owens. Many travelers pronounce it one of the most pleasantly located towns on the banks of the Missouri.

"In the same manner as Augusta and Dortmund, so Bassora and Washington were at one time adjoining neighbors. Now, however, the two towns are united and are embraced by the same corporation. In the course of time, that part which is called Bassora may become the most beautiful part of the combined towns. It is laid out on a more level terrain, and, in conformity with the recorded disposition of the first founder, the streets must be from 60 to 80 feet wide, while those in the original Washington have a width of only 50 feet. The business section of the town is located in the old town of Washington.

"In regard to trade and commerce Washington has decidedly the advantage over other little towns along the river. The productive uplands south of the river are as densely settled as it is possible, and the roads leading into town from the south and west are at certain seasons of the year lined with teams daily. The communication with the large fertile bottoms on the north side of the river, in Warren county, is facilitated by a steam ferry. The two flour mills and the pork packing plants are provided from there, to a great extent at least, with enormous quantities of wheat, and in the winter with thousands of hogs.*

"Washington can be called a distinctly German town, since its commerce and still more the mechanical trades are in the hands of the Germans. However, there is also a highly respectable American element there. Among the Germans there are many who know but very little of the English language, on the other hand there are many Americans, especially among the younger generation, who speak the German with a good deal of fluency.

"The streets in the oldest part bear the names of the heroes and statesmen of the Revolutionary war. In a subsequent addition, the so-called 'Catholic Hill', the streets

*This was correct at the time when Mr. Goebel wrote his account. Since the completion of the Missouri, Kansas and Texas road on the north side of the river conditions have materially changed in Washington. Still there is much business transacted here. A shoe factory and several factories producing the Missouri Meerschaum pipes are in continuous operation. Here is where Anton Tibbe made the first corn cob pipe. Here also is the home of the Schwarze zithers.

are named after various forest trees. Finally that street which is officially known as St. John's street, and which has gradually been built up to a distance of two miles from east to west, and which is settled almost entirely by Germans, has, in addition to the official name, the following peculiar names, the west end is called *Der lustige Strumpf*, meaning the merry stocking, and the east end *Der lange Jammer*, meaning the long misery.

"West of the 'Catholic Hill', ascending gradually from the river, many lots have been planted with fruit trees and grapes. This part of town has been named *Nierstein*, thus commemorating the excellent *Niersteiner* wine grown on the banks of the river Rhine.

"The *Turnverein*, (that is the society of Turners), in Washington owns a large spacious hall, containing a stage with a rather complete assortment of scenery. During the winter theatrical performances are arranged every few weeks. After every performance the young folks amuse themselves with dancing, while the older gentlemen retire to some adjoining rooms to enjoy a social hour over a glass of beer.

"Washington has not grown over night like a mushroom, as so many other towns have done during the period of railroad construction. In the first half of the third decade scarcely more than a dozen houses, mostly very modest loghouses, were scattered along a hillside descending toward the river. There were no streets but well beaten foot paths. The forest bordered almost immediately upon this little group of houses. Even between the houses some isolated forest trees had been left standing. A little cemetery was laid out and used, not very far from the spot where the city hall now is. The dead interred there were exhumed many years ago and were laid to rest a second time in the old *Barossa* grave yard. To-day a broad sidewalk leads over the site of the old cemetery. In the olden times nothing could be seen of the town until one was almost in the midst of it, but now the steeple of the new Catholic church, the new school house and the more elevated part of town can

be seen at a distance of ten miles or more from some prominent points in the county.

"The town of Hermann, mentioned in various places of this account, is the most distinctly German town in the state. One of my old friends, now dead, used to remark at times, 'I am the only American in Hermann, and I am Irish.' A small colony of Germans settled in the narrow valley of Frain creek in 1837 and began to build a town there. It was the so-called Philadelphia Society.* An agent had been sent ahead of the immigrants to look up a suitable location for a town, and this man selected the Frain valley. It is difficult to say, what reasons may have induced this agent to make this selection. A great many members of this society had come with the intention to devote themselves to farming. Almost everywhere in the state there were at that time far more favorable localities for agricultural purposes than in that particular part of Gasconade county.

"The opinion is ventured by some that the favorable location for the cultivation of fruit and grapes was a deciding factor in the selection of this land for the settlement. It is, however, just as likely that the relative nearness of St. Louis (only eighty miles), as also the proximity of other German settlements, and the very low price of land considered by the Americans entirely worthless, may have been the principal motives for this purchase. It is also possible that this agent did not know anything at all about the country farther west. But be that as it may, the immigrants came, the town was laid out, and the building of houses was commenced.

"As long as their means were not exhausted everything went well enough, but then came hard times indeed. There was absolutely no opportunity to earn anything in this wilderness. Many had to live from hand to mouth. Many would have turned their back upon the new settlement if they could have found the means to go somewhere else. In a short time better conditions came. Many German families

*For a complete history of the town of Hermann see Bek's 'The German Settlement Society of Philadelphia, and Its Colony, Hermann, Missouri.'

settled all over the headwaters of Berger creek, on all the small tributaries of Frain creek, along all the tributaries of the Gasconade. In some instances they had picked their new homes among such rocky and steep hills that not Americans but bears, wolves, foxes and wildcats were crowded out by them.

"In this manner the northern part of Gasconade county soon obtained the numerical preponderance of population over the southern part of the county. The old county seat was at Mount Sterling on the Gasconade river, and was situated almost in the center of the county. Thru this village, consisting of only a few log cabins and the courthouse, which was also only a log house, the old mail route from St. Louis to Jefferson City had been conducted. With the exception of some Americans, who had settled in the very extensive Gasconade bottoms, the whole country was still very destitute of inhabitants. Thus the citizens of the county, after some exertion, succeeded in moving the county seat from Mount Sterling to Hermann.

"According to law and usage the county seat of a county should be as nearly as possible in the center of the county; but when this geographical center by chance falls into an uninhabited wilderness, it is a matter of course that the seat of administration is established at a place which is most convenient to the majority of the citizens. By the removal of the county seat new life was infused into the town of Hermann, partly by the construction of the new courthouse, and partly by the increased concourse of people during the sessions of the court.

"This original victory of the Germans over their native born fellow citizens provoked the jealousy of many of the latter. This jealousy was almost flamed into fanatical hatred by the unterrified attitude of the brave Emil Muehl, who boldly assailed the institution of slavery in the *Hermanner Wochenblatt*, edited by him. To be sure his opposition at that early time (1843) was a little too premature to do good. These reciprocally antagonistic sentiments frequently engendered bloody fights. The Germans, however, asserted

their position firmly and would not allow themselves to be intimidated, and still less could they be driven out.

"The cultivation of the grape proved to be a source of great income for Hermann and the surrounding country. During the fifth decade the citizens of Hermann did an extensive business when the railroad was built thru that section. Above and below the town the building of the road was greatly impeded and so progressed very slowly. For miles the bluffs along the river had to be blasted away, and the construction of a bridge over the broad and deep Gasconade river required a great deal of labor. Many of the engineers and workmen had established their headquarters at Hermann for a long time.

"After this period of prosperity the town came to a standstill. The cause thereof is easily found. Almost the entire country around Hermann is so hilly, stony and broken that the raising of small grain on a large scale is impossible. Consequently the exports cannot amount to much. In the bottoms of several creeks at some distance east and west of town great quantities of cereals are grown and more cattle are raised. But all these products are not shipped from Hermann but from the nearest depots along the railroad. The greater part of the surplus of products from the north side of the Missouri is shipped by steamboat directly. Furthermore, since the conditions of that region are not encouraging for the investment of capital in manufactories, the commercial intercourse and consequently the visible prosperity of this town cannot be very appreciable.*

"The principal business part of Hermann is near the river and the railroad. There the terrain is perfectly level. The houses stand close together and the streets are macadamized and provided with broad pavements. Only a little ways from this part of the town, the place assumes a more rural aspect. The houses are more scattered and of simpler construction. The large gardens around the habitations are planted with grapevines, fruit trees and vegetables of all kinds.

*For some years Hermann has had a branch of one of the big St. Louis shoe factories. (Translator's note.)

"A promenade thru town, especially when the fruit trees are in full bloom, will make an old German feel as tho he had been transported home, into one of the large, wealthy villages of his old country.

"The average enlightenment and the good hard sense of the citizens of Hermann and the country around it, is clearly manifested by the fact, that they have not wasted their hard earnings foolishly for the building of numerous ostentatious churches, notwithstanding many of them enjoy besides their good moral character, ample means to indulge in such useless extravagances. They have Protestant and a Catholic church of moderate dimensions but these two edifices are sufficient to afford an opportunity to all those, who may consider worshipping inside of a church an imperative necessity.* In lieu of a super number of churches a very large and spacious schoolhouse has been built, wherein the children are educated by good teachers during the greater part of the year.

"In Hermann the phrase 'rotation in office' is understood in its proper sense and meaning. Public officers, who have won the confidence of the people by their conscientious conduct in office, are generally re-elected, when their term of office has expired, until they either resign or die.

*Many of the early settlers of Hermann were freethinkers in religious matters. The Protestant church referred to above belonged to no denomination. It was as late as 1901 that the congregation finally decided to become a member of the German Evangelical Synod of North America.

It is manifest that things must have changed a great deal since Mr. Goebel wrote. Both the Evangelical as well as the Catholic churches are handsome modern structures. In addition to these two churches there is also a Methodist church in Hermann.

A TRUE STORY OF THE BORDER WAR

BY B. F. BLANTON.

(From the Monroe County Appeal, Paris, Mo., April, 1921).

When I was a boy of nearly 18 years of age there was great excitement all over the state of Missouri, Kansas, the South and the New England states, over the admission of Kansas to the great union of states. The great question that had caused all the excitement and bitterness was whether Kansas was to be admitted as a free or a slave state. Hundreds and thousands of men from the East and South poured into Kansas for the purpose of voting for or against the question of slavery being recognized in the constitution of the new state. This naturally caused a great deal of hard feeling and finally in the late summer or early fall of 1856, led to a miniature war between the two factions, but during this little war but few men were killed in actual battle.

During August of 1856 many exciting rumors reached Central Missouri about how the Jayhawkers under the noted Jim Lane and John Brown, were robbing and murdering pro-slavery advocates who had settled in the then territory of Kansas. Old John Brown got most of the blame for the burning out of settlers who favored making Kansas a slave state, and a number of murders were committed for which Brown and his band were given credit. Whether this was true, I know not, but it is more than likely that not half as many men were killed as was reported, but certain it was that a large number of houses were burned down which belonged to men opposed to the wishes of Brown and his able ally, Jim Lane.

No doubt just such stories were told in the eastern states concerning the "Border Ruffians," as the Missourians were called by the Kansas Jayhawkers. Jim Lane's band frequently made raids over the line into Missouri counties bordering on Kansas and drove off stock and sometimes stole a

few slaves, which was apparently right in men holding their views. Of course all this worked up an intense feeling of bitterness in Missouri, and at last the tension was so great that it ended in companies of men being organized in many counties in this state and in other Southern states for the purpose of going to Kansas and protecting Southern people who had settled there, even though it meant war. It certainly did, but a war that ended almost as soon as it began and with very little bloodshed.

The excitement finally reached Howard county and a great meeting was held at Fayette which listened to some blood and thunder speeches which worked up the crowd until it was decided to raise a company of armed men and send them to Kansas to protect our people who had gone there to make their homes. A company was soon organized and Captain Congreve Jackson, a wealthy farmer, put in command. The company was composed mostly of boys of my own age who were furnished horses and guns by well-to-do farmers. We left Glasgow one bright morning, reached Lexington that evening and were put up at hotels. Here my captain brought me a pistol and I then felt that when we got into action we would soon settle the war for with our shot-guns and single barreled pistols we felt certain we were invincible.

Our next stop was at a little place called Sante Fe, not far from Westport, but whether it was in Kansas or Missouri I do not remember, but I think it was just over the line in Kansas. Here an accident happened that caused gloom to settle down over the entire camp, for one of the most prominent men in the camp was accidentally shot and killed. From that camp we were moved to one on Bull Creek in Johnson county, Kansas, where we remained several days and lived like kings. Our entire force was under the command of David R. Atchison, a former United States Senator from Missouri, who was President for one day. This is a fact even if so few people know it now.

While camped at Bull Creek, scouts brought the news to our commander that John Brown was camped at Ossa-

watamie with a considerable force, intending to form a junction with Jim Lane, then camped at Lawrence with a large force of his red leg band. Osawatomie was forty miles from our camp, but it was decided to send a force down there and wipe out Brown then clean up Jim Lane a little later. A call was made for volunteers and about 240, mostly boys from 16 to 20, volunteered, and were started for Brown's camp about sunset and next morning about sunrise came up with his pickets, nearly a mile from his camp. Here one of Brown's sons was shot and killed. Had he surrendered he would not have been hurt but he fired his gun to warn his camp and then turned and ran for it. Firing soon began from Brown's men at a distance of about half a mile. They used Sharps rifles, raising the sights and shooting a long distance for that day.

Our men were armed with double barreled shot guns that were of no use at that distance. During this long distance firing we had three men from Howard county wounded but none fatally. They were: Miles Baldridge, shot through the shoulders; Jim Jackson, shot in the mouth, and the late popular Major Joe Finks, shot on the little finger. Gen. Reed, in command, ordered a charge and the men rushed like an avalanche on Brown's camp, situated in the timber. The fight was right lively for a few minutes but the Brown men could not face the hail of buckshot and fled in all directions, Brown himself escaping by crossing the Ossawatamie River or Creek. How many of them we killed, I do not know, some of our men placing the loss at about 28 while Brown's only put their loss at about three or four. We did not lose a man and had but very few wounds.

Before starting on the return to camp a house in which were several barrels of whiskey was set fire and burned down in order to keep the men from getting it and getting drunk. On the return to camp when a mile or two from it, messengers were met who reported a large number of Lane's red legs near the camp threatening to capture the whole outfit, but when the men got in a line formed opposite Lane's battle line, both sides looked over each other and then Lane

and his men pulled away and retired to Lawrence without a gun having been fired by either party. A short time after this Gen. Atchison started on the march for Lawrence but never reached that town as we shall show.

After a short time our outfit reached a little town called Franklin and camped for the night intending to attack Lane at Lawrence early in the morning. But during the early part of the night a federal General and his staff rode into camp and spent the night. They came from Fort Leavenworth and ordered General Atchison to disband and go home else the Government would take a hand. General Lane got the same orders and the little armies broke camp and went to their homes. When nearing Franklin a man named Great-house from Kentucky rode on ahead of our force and was shot as soon as he entered the town and was robbed of \$3,500 he was carrying in his belt around his body or so his friends reported. He was given a military burial, the first I ever saw.

When we reached the little town, there was not a man, woman or child in it, having all fled to Lawrence on our approach. While with this little army, I, with 25 others, was sent out on a scouting party and while gone we visited Lecompton, then the capital of Kansas we supposed, as men were laying on the corner stone of what they said was to be the State capitol of Kansas. We finally got back to Westport landing, now Kansas City, which was then a small village of perhaps 600 or 700 people. Here we waited three days for a boat to take us to Glasgow and were later given a ten dollar gold piece for going through a bloodless war for two months.

Note—John Brown, after the trouble in Kansas, went to Virginia, where he, with a handful of kindred spirits, captured the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry and made war on the government. For this he was captured, tried, convicted and hung. I have always believed and still believe that Brown was a crazy man.

Jerry Smith, who carried on a blacksmith shop in Paris for so many years, and who died but a few years ago, was

one of the men who took part in the miniature war in Kansas. He was the only man that I ever met in Monroe county who was in that scrimmage and I do not know of a man now living, except myself, who was one of the so-called "Border Ruffians."

PIONEER LIFE IN SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

BY WILEY BRITTON.

FIFTH ARTICLE.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN MISSOURI.

On my return to Missouri from Texas, where I had gone to visit my mother's relatives, I found that the secessionists were not as numerous and strong in Southwest Missouri as they were in Texas; but the Southern leaders were aggressive and doing nearly all the talking, for the Unionists had not yet commenced to arouse themselves to the real danger that was rapidly approaching a crisis.

After considering the situation carefully, I was so thoroughly convinced of the approaching conflict in the spring, that I determined to stop at home only a few weeks and then proceed to Kansas. While at home I tried to persuade father to rent his farm and move with his family to Kansas, and take with him all his live stock; but the movement was found to be impracticable before spring, for during the year 1860 there had been the worst drought in that Territory known to the oldest settlers and Indians.

There had been only a few inches of rain in Kansas during the entire year, rivers and creeks had dried up, and many families from the Territory came into the western counties of Missouri the latter part of the year and told stories of near starvation and want that prevailed, and of the hundreds of families who had been obliged to leave their homesteads and return east.

At that particular time Kansas was not an inviting land to move to by a man who had raised bounteous crops on his deep-soiled farm on Shoal Creek, and who had an abundance of stock and well-fed cows.

The Crittenden Compromise was much talked about as a means of conciliating the South, and some thought that it might tide the trouble over for a while; but nothing came of it, and daily the pressure from the extreme southern States for Missouri to join them in the secession movement became stronger.

Military companies were being organized in Newton and in all the Western counties of Missouri, under the pretense that they were to be used only to defend the State against an invasion from Kansas. All the officers of these military organizations were commissioned by Governor Jackson, who did not conceal the fact that he was doing all in his power to have the State committed to secession.

Under the pressure of the excitement that prevailed, there were many young men who joined these organizations under a misapprehension of their real purpose, which was to oppose the authority of the Federal Government and to intimidate and overawe the Union sentiment where ever it existed. But the uncompromising Union men were not deceived and in many instances persuaded their sons to keep out of them.

Immediately after the election of Lincoln the leading newspapers of the South took up the discussion of secession, and one after another of the Southern States called State Conventions, elected delegates, and passed ordinances of secession, severing their connection with the Union.

Missouri was a slave State and had just elected a Governor committed to secession, although that was not an issue in the campaign, but an analysis of the vote cast for president, showed that the state was decidedly in favor of the Union. A large proportion of the Douglas Democrats, nearly all the Bell and Everett voters, and all the Republicans and Free Soilers, were in favor of the Union. Gradually the newspapers and influential men of the state were aligned on the side of the Union or of secession, and the people of every section were thoroughly informed by public speakers and printed addresses of the issues involved. There was a call for a State Convention and delegates were elected from

each senatorial and representative district, who would determine the action the state should take in the coming crisis. A decided majority of Union delegates were elected, and the Convention voted for the Union in spite of the efforts of the secession leaders.

Many of those who were not taking an active interest in the discussion and who seemed willing to drift along without taking sides, were approached by secession leaders and warmly entreated not to fight against their own people. There were a good many men who owned slaves who were strongly opposed to the state going out of the Union, and earnestly worked and voted for Union delegates. Although a majority of Union delegates were elected to the Convention, and even after the Convention voted against secession, the Governor and his advisers continued their efforts to have the State committed to the action of the Southern States.

They established a large camp of the State Guard of several thousand men under General Frost near St. Louis for the purpose of seizing the St. Louis Arsenal and arming the secessionists of the State, and they talked neutrality only for the purpose of deceiving the people and thwarting the Government in organizing and equipping troops and moving them through the State.

The Union men saw military organizations coming into existence all over the State, officered by secessionists, and knew that they were almost helpless to do anything to assist the cause they espoused with unflinching devotion. To me it appeared that the Union men would soon be put in a position where they would be subjected to a good deal of persecution without being able to do anything in behalf of their cause.

The situation was discouraging to the Unionists of our section, and I urged father the latter part of March to move his family and stock into Kansas, where his stock could live by grazing by the time he arrived there. He talked in favor of the plan, for he too, was satisfied that war was close at hand, but he thought it would be better to wait awhile and watch events. After the fall of Fort Sumpter I was con-

vinced that I could not longer feel at ease in Southwest Missouri, and immediately left home for Kansas.

On the day I had set for leaving home, a mass meeting was advertised at Neosho to be addressed by prominent secessionists who would urge the people to stand by the Seceded States, and dark shadows pressed upon my mind of coming events, for I could see nothing but persecution for those who were determined to hold out for the Union.

CHAPTER XXV.

VIEWING THE POLITICAL SITUATION FROM KANSAS.

On leaving home for Kansas, I had in mind to stop in the neighborhood of Lawrence, and my most direct road would lead me through Fort Scott, Mount City and Ossawatimie. It was a lonesome ride nearly all the way through prairies to the Overland Mail Station kept by Mr. A. D. Reed on the Santa Fe Road between Lanesfield and Gardner, eighteen miles south of Lawrence, where I stopped to help Mr. Reed keep his account with the Stage company and assist him in his crops.

Before leaving home I made no secret of my intention of going to Kansas, so that after I left it was talked about Neosho that I had gone there to bring the Jayhawkers into Newton county, as soon as hostilities commenced, and that my father would be held responsible for any acts committed by the men from Kansas.

The word "Jayhawker" as I understood, came from Jayhawk, a kind of night hawk that looked much like a blue jay, but that made its raids or depredations of nights on birds and chicken roosts instead of in the day time like the common hawk of that section. The Free State men made their retaliatory raids into Missouri of nights.

The timely rains of spring and summer gave Kansas that year most bountiful crops. My interest in the crop of corn of three hundred bushels, I sold that winter at ten cents a bushel. But the terrible drought of 1860 left an indelible impression upon the minds of those who passed

through it, an impression that the new State would never measure up to the possibilities which had been claimed for it.

With the opening of spring the people who had left their homes in Kansas for points in Missouri for food commenced to return in time to make a crop. There were, however, many families who had moved back to Illinois and Iowa, who had become so discouraged that they never returned to Kansas.

In a few weeks after my arrival at Mr. Reed's the Overland Mail over the Sante Fe Trail stopped coming out from Kansas City some thirty miles distant, on account of the belligerent attitude of the secessionists at that place and Independence.

The secessionists had already taken the Liberty Arsenal in Clay county, Missouri, and had also seized a large amount of army supplies at Kansas City. In Jackson and adjoining counties in Western Missouri, military companies of secessionists were drilling under officers of Southern birth and sympathies who had recently resigned from the regular Army and accepted commissions from Governor Jackson.

These war-like movements of the secessionists near the Kansas border, aroused in the people of the new State a sense of insecurity, and they too commenced to raise military companies for service under the recent call of President Lincoln for 75,000 volunteers. About this time at the suggestion of prominent Union men of Missouri, the Department Commander ordered a battalion of regular infantry, a battery of artillery and a squadron of regular cavalry under Lieut. D. S. Stanley from Fort Leavenworth down to Kansas City to watch the movements of the secessionists.

Shortly after his arrival at Kansas City, Lieut. Stanley with a squadron of regular cavalry marched leisurely down the road towards Independence until he came within half a mile of the secession camp on Rock Creek under Colonel Holloway, when he halted and sent forward one of his men with a white flag and a message to Colonel Holloway, requesting a conference between their lines. These officers

had known each other in the Regular Army, and the conference was immediately granted, and Lieut. Stanley with two men rode forward under a flag of truce until they met Colonel Holloway and several of his officers.

They had been talking only a short time when Lieut. Stanley noticed the secessionists moving up on his right and left with the evident intention of cutting him off from his command, and called the Colonel's attention to the threatened movement; but the Colonel assured him that there was no danger, and that his men would advance no further. In a few moments Lieut. Stanley saw that the secessionists had not ceased and again called the Colonel's attention to the fact and turned and galloped back to his detachment. At this moment seeing that his men were advancing, Colonel Holloway waived them back with his hand, which was taken as a signal to fire. At any rate part of his men fired a volley, killing him and two other officers, and wounding several officers who had accompanied him to meet Lieut. Stanley.

Colonel Holloway had twelve to fifteen companies in his camp near Independence, and it was reported he intended by a surprise attack to capture the Federal force of about three hundred men under Major Prince who were encamped on the bluff in the northwest part of Kansas City. After the death of Colonel Holloway by the reckless blunder of his own men, Colonel Richard Weightman, the next officer in rank, took command and withdrew at once to the east side of the Little Blue River, about fifteen miles east of Independence, and threw up some fortifications.

This Rock Creek affair caused intense excitement among the Southern men in Western Missouri, and so demoralized them as to temporarily check their further hostile movements. It was rather singular that these leaders pretended in the most public manner in nearly all their partisan newspapers that Colonel Holloway and his companions were killed by the firing of the detachment of Regular cavalry, instead of by his own impetuous men. But the tragedy had a sobering effect upon the secessionists, and they made no further movement towards capturing Kansas City.

A short time after the Rock Creek affair, I drove a team to Kansas City for a load of goods for a merchant in Gardner, and while there saw for the first time preparations for war by the Unionists; I saw Colonel R. T. Van Horn's Battalion drilling in their camp in town. Through the vigilance and efforts of Colonel Van Horn the secessionists never got control of Kansas City, a town comparable in importance to Leavenworth and St. Joseph, as a shipping point. He had been elected Mayor of the city, and had published the *Journal*, a Republican newspaper for several years before the war, and his influence extended over Western Missouri and Kansas, and he was considered a safe level-headed man. It would be impossible to estimate how many men his writings as editor of the *Journal* influenced to espouse the Union cause.

After my return from Kansas City to Gardner, I was convinced that Missouri was rapidly becoming a field for the operations of hostile forces. In the daily newspapers there were accounts of mass meetings of Unionists and secessionists in different parts of the State, of the organization of military companies, and comments in regard to Governor Jackson's refusal to furnish Missouri's quota of 75,000 men called for in President Lincoln's Proclamation.

We read in the dispatches where the secessionists had received several important checks, particularly of the capture of a brigade of State Guards under General Frost by General Lyon at Camp Jackson near St. Louis, with a large number of cannon, arms, ammunition and equipments, which had recently been taken from United States Arsenals in Louisiana and Arkansas by the secessionists of those States.

The latter part of May and June we heard mostly of the preparations for active operations on both sides. In all the different movements we could see that the Southern military leaders were maneuvering for tactical positions as near the northern borders of the Slave States as practicable, and the commander-in-chief of the Federal Forces desired tactical positions as near the southern borders of Missouri, Kentucky and what is now West Virginia, as practicable.

This period of preparation and movement of troops caused less excitement than if frequent conflicts were occurring, and allowed the people of Kansas time to attend closely to their crops. At Gardner and Lanesfield and in all the towns in our section of Kansas, there were public meetings to discuss the situation. Up to this time there were few of the pro-slavery settlers in Kansas, but they were so much in the minority that they gave no trouble to their free state neighbors. At Fort Scott, however, there were a few men who sympathized with the South.

Most of the strong Southern sympathizers, soon after the opening of hostilities, moved out of Kansas into Missouri and Arkansas, for they knew that they were in a hopeless minority, and that their movements and conduct would be closely watched by their loyal neighbors.

In response to President Lincoln's call for volunteers, two regiments were raised in Kansas to fill her quota, and they were immediately prepared for active service. There was nothing like the excitement in Kansas as in Missouri, for in Kansas the people were nearly all one way, for the Union, whereas in Missouri they were nearly equally divided on the issues involved.

After General Harney was relieved and General Lyon placed in command of the Department, there was no further temporizing with the Southern leaders. At their conference with him in St. Louis after his capture of Camp Jackson, he told them plainly that he would not as the representative of the Government, yield in any manner to their demands for a passive policy; that he would hold the authority of the Government paramount in every instance.

Governor Jackson had commissioned regimental and division commanders in every Congressional district in the State, with instructions to prepare their men for active service as rapidly as practicable; but General Lyon's prompt and uncompromising action impressed the Governor that he must at once recognize the authority of the General Government as paramount, or fight. Having watched the movements of the secessionists in the State from the time he was

placed in command of the St. Louis Arsenal, General Lyon secured authority from the war Department to raise ten regiments of Missouri Volunteers for three months.

Governor Jackson had already shown his hand when he refused to allow Missouri to furnish her quota of troops under President Lincoln's call for volunteers. Immediately after his conference with the State leaders at St. Louis was ended, General Lyon ordered two regiments of volunteer infantry, a battalion of Regular infantry, and a battery of Regular Light Artillery to embark on two steamboats, and started up the Missouri River with them to Jefferson City. Having burned the railroad bridge over the Osage to prevent pursuit by rail, Governor Jackson and his advisers and military companions left Jefferson City for Boonville before the arrival of General Lyon, who took possession of the city without opposition.

After briefly looking over the situation General Lyon left a sufficient force under Colonel Henry Boernstein, Second Missouri infantry, to maintain order in the city, and then steamed on up the river to Boonville, where he was informed that Governor Jackson had concentrated several thousand men to make a stand.

The General landed most of his troops about seven miles below Boonville on the south bank of the river and marched up cautiously toward the city. In a short time his advance came in contact with the pickets of the secessionists, who fell back rapidly on the main body after exchanging a few shots with their pursuers. Continuing to advance General Lyon soon came in sight of the main force of Governor Jackson. General Lyon examined the position of the Governor's forces, formed his line for making the attack, and bringing his battery into position, his guns commenced throwing shot and shell into such bodies of Jackson's forces as were exposed to view. General Lyon soon put the State Guards to flight, causing them to leave part of their artillery and quite a number of prisoners in the hands of the victors. After his defeat at Boonville, Governor Jackson moved south with his forces.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MILITARY OPERATIONS SHIFT TO SOUTHWEST MISSOURI

Before leaving St. Louis General Lyon had sent a force of about two thousand men, Missouri Volunteers, under General Sweeney to Rolla, the terminus of the Southwest Branch of the Pacific Railroad, and thence by marches to Springfield, to strengthen the hands of the Union men in Southwest Missouri, and watch the movements of the secessionists in that quarter. Colonel John S. Phelps, Congressman from the Springfield District, Col. S. H. Boyd, and many other prominent men of that section had identified themselves with the Union cause, and had a powerful following in all the counties of Southern and Southwest Missouri, known as the Ozark Mountain region.

After the decisive action at Boonville General Lyon was not able to commence immediate pursuit of Governor Jackson's forces for want of transportation. He worked incessantly to provide transportation for supplies for his command, and to get it ready to move south to form a junction with General Sweeney. He ordered the commanding officers of troops at Kansas City and other points in his department to join him on the march to Springfield where he proposed to concentrate his forces for the approaching conflict.

The Rock Creek affair, the capture of Camp Jackson and the action at Boonville and defeat of Governor Jackson's forces there, had given General Lyon and the Union cause an unlooked for prestige, and put new life and courage into the Union men throughout the state to assert themselves and effect organizations for their own defense.

Directly after his flight from Jefferson City, Governor Jackson issued a proclamation calling out fifty thousand men for the defense of the State, which was generally regarded as equivalent to a declaration of war against the Federal Government.

In a short time after General Harney was relieved and the Department of the West was turned over to General

Lyon, the Government at Washington authorized him to organize the Union men into companies and regiments of Home Guards all over the State to cooperate with the Regular and Volunteer forces in all military operations contemplated. Up to that time Union men could not lawfully organize for their protection in the State, a fact which put them to great disadvantage even in counties and localities where they were in the majority.

They did, however, organize in some localities in the hope of getting authority from the President to enter the service in the defense of the Union. As soon as authority was obtained all these independent organizations were mustered in as Home Guards and Militia, and while their operations were usually confined to the counties in which they were raised, they held themselves in readiness to cooperate with the regular forces where needed. The Home Guard organizations came into existence for emergency service, and instead of the regiments being numbered, they were officially known for example as "The Green County Regiment Missouri Home Guards." They were not uniformed and equipped by the State or General Government like volunteer organizations, but they furnished their own horses, arms, blankets and camp outfits, and when they were operating with the regular forces, they were furnished rations and clothing like the other troops.

They were useful in the counties where they were able to organize in maintaining order and keeping the secessionists quiet, and in furnishing information to Federal commanders of hostile movements of the enemy in their sections. They were also useful in holding posts and in escorting trains of supplies for troops in the field, thus making it unnecessary to take detachments from the active mobile army for this purpose.

They were mostly called out for three to six months, and at the end of that time, most of those fit for the military service enlisted in the new volunteer organizations being raised all over the State, the Government having called for additional troops. As they were armed only with squirrel

rifles and shot guns and not uniformed, General Lyon did not intend to use the Home Guards closely associated with his regular forces, when ready to give battle to the enemy, but assigned them to the work of gathering supplies for his army, watching the movements of the enemy on his flanks, and guarding his line of communication from his field base to his permanent base.

While military operations in Missouri appeared to be drifting away from the Kansas Border, and when no one had any definite idea where the opposing forces in Missouri would meet the conflict, the country was suddenly electrified with Colonel Sigel's report of the battle of Carthage in Southwest Missouri.

Soon after his arrival at Springfield, General Sweeney commenced organizing the Home Guards, and sent Colonel Sigel with the Third and Fifth regiments Missouri Volunteers and two batteries of light artillery to Granby and Neosho in Newton county, to break up secession organizations reported to be in the vicinity of those places.

My father with several members of his family in his family carriage met Colonel Sigel at Granby; gave him such information as he possessed of the situation in that section, and accompanied the command to Neosho, driving at the head of the column as it marched through town, a triumph of short duration; but one that he enjoyed with unbounded satisfaction, for he was becoming discouraged at the prospect of Union forces occupying that part of the State. On his arrival at Neosho Colonel Sigel received information that the forces of the secessionists that had been encamped near town on hearing of his approach had fled to camp Walker in the northwest corner of Arkansas, where General Ben McCulloch was encamped with a force of several thousand Texas, Louisiana and Arkansas troops, ready to march into Missouri to cooperate with Governor Jackson's State forces. While at Neosho Colonel Sigel also received information that Governor Jackson had crossed the Osage river and was marching south for the purpose of joining with the forces of General Sterling Price and McCulloch, then probably on the march

from the south to meet him. Finding himself between two superior forces, marching rapidly to form a junction, Colonel Sigel decided to leave 100 men under Captain Conrad at Neosho, and then to march with the utmost despatch north to Carthage, or until he met Governor Jackson's forces, and then attack them vigorously. He arrived at Carthage on the evening of July 4th.

At Carthage he ascertained that the advance of the Governor's forces would probably pass Lamar, twenty-five miles north, that day on the march south. Early on the morning of the 5th, Colonel Sigel left his camp near Carthage and advanced cautiously on the Lamar road until he came in sight of the Governor's forces drawn up in line of battle on an elevated position in the prairie nine miles north. When within artillery range the Colonel formed his line, brought up his artillery and opened fire on the secessionists with part of his guns, and immediately drew the fire of the enemy guns. The larger part of the Governor's forces were mounted, whereas Colonel Sigel's force was all infantry and artillery, thus leaving his flanks exposed to the swiftly moving horsemen of the enemy.

Governor Jackson had upwards of four thousand men of all arms of the service in his three or four divisions, while Colonel Sigel had less than one thousand effectives, nearly all Germans and fairly well drilled. After some maneuvering and firing at long range, the State guard leaders, Generals Parsons, Rains, and Slack, sent out large detachments of their mounted men for the purpose of flanking Sigel and cutting off his retreat to Carthage. When these movements were observed, Colonel Sigel ordered a retreat, at the same time using the guns of his batteries in throwing shot and shell into the flanking forces when they came within range and showed a disposition to close in on him. He kept up his retreating fight from Dry Fork to Carthage, and from thence three or four miles southeast on the road to Sarcoxie and Mt. Vernon, at times being nearly surrounded, so that he was obliged on several occasions to use grape shot and shell from his sight guns.

It was a very warm day, and after much marching and maneuvering, the State Guards about sunset, withdrew from the pursuit, and Colonel Sigel continued his march to Sarcoxie, Mt. Vernon and Springfield. The secessionists camped around Carthage that night, and the next day resumed the march to Neosho where they met a large force of General McCulloch's command under Colonels Churchill and McIntosh, which had on the 4th captured Captain Conrad's detachment which had been left there by Colonel Sigel.

The official reports of casualties showed 44 men killed and wounded on the Federal side, and 74 killed and wounded secessionists, showing that very little of the fighting during the day was in rifle range. Colonel Sigel had seen military service in Europe during the Revolutions of 1848, and with other prominent Germans, was obliged to flee to this country for his operations that would redound to his own glory and heroism, and even if he had not exaggerated his exploits in his retreating fight, a correct report of the picturesqueness of it would have excited interest throughout the country. His vivid description of his masterly retreat gave the impression throughout the North that he had fought a great battle.

The booming of cannon at short intervals during that still warm day, was heard by the astonished people for twenty to thirty miles around, and across the State line in Kansas, creating the impression that a terrific conflict was going on. The partisans of each side claimed to have killed nearly all of their opponents, and the people who saw and talked with soldiers who were in the fight, exaggerated the accounts of the slaughter, and how the ground was ploughed up by shot and shell, and how Spring River near Carthage was gorged with the dead, and how its turbulent waters were reddened by the blood of the wounded and dying.

If that section was not already ploughed with cannon balls it certainly would be shortly, and all the Unionists killed or captured, for the dispatches stated that a mighty host of Southern forces concentrating there from Texas,

Louisiana, Arkansas and Missouri, and preparing for another great battle.

I felt certain that father on account of his well known anti-slavery sentiments, could not escape their wrath, particularly since he had ridden at the head of the column when Colonel Sigel's command marched into Granby and Neosho. In addition to this, he had guided Colonel Sigel from Neosho to Carthage, which had angered the secessionists and made them talk of revenge when an opportunity offered.

SHELBY'S EXPEDITION TO MEXICO

AN UNWRITTEN LEAF OF THE WAR.

BY JOHN N. EDWARDS.

EIGHTH ARTICLE. (Reprint).

CHAPTER XVI.

Quite a large concentration of Americans had taken place in the City of Mexico. Many of these were penniless—all of them were soldiers. As long as they believed in luck, or the fortune, or the good destiny of Shelby—and that, being a born soldier, the Empire must needs see and recognize those qualities which even his enemies had described as magnificent—they were content to wait for Shelby's arrival, living no man knew how, hungry always, sometimes sad, frequently in want of a roll or a bed—but turning ever their faces fair to the sunrise, saying, it may be a little reproachfully, to the sun: "What hast thou in store for us this day, oh! King?"

Maximilian was like a man who had a desperate race before him, and who had started out to win it. The pace in the beginning was therefore terrible. So firm was the stride so tense were the muscles, so far in the rear were all competitors, that opposition had well-nigh abandoned the contest and resistance had become so enfeebled as to be almost an absolute mockery.

In the noonday of the struggle a halt was had. There were so many sweet and odorous flowers, so many nights that were almost divine, so much of shade, and luxury and ease, so much of music by the wayside, and so many hands that were held out to him for the grasping, that the young Austrian—schooled in the luxuries of literature and the pursuits of science—sat himself down just when the need was sorest, and smoked, and dreamed, and planned, and wrote, and—died.

Maximilian was never a soldier. Perhaps he was no statesman as well. Most certainly all the elements of a politician were wanting in his character, which was singularly sweet, trusting and affectionate. To sign a death warrant gave him nights of solitude and remorse. Alone with his confessor he would beseech in prayer the merciful God to show to him that mercy he had denied to others. On one eve of an execution he had been known to flee from his capital as if pursued by some horrible nightmare. He could not kill, when, to reign as a foreigner, it was necessary to kill, as said William the Conqueror, until the balance is about even between those who came over with you and those whom you found upon your arrival.

The Emperor had given shelter to some honored and august Americans. Commodore M. F. Maury, who had preceded the Expedition, and who had brought his great fame and his transcendent abilities to the support of the Empire, had been made the Imperial Commissioner of Immigration. Entering at once upon an energetic discharge of his duties, he had secured a large and valuable grant of land near the city of Cordova, which, even as early as September, 1865, was being rapidly surveyed and opened up for cultivation. Agents of colonization had been sent to the United States, and reports were constantly being received of their cordial and sometimes enthusiastic reception by the people from New Orleans to Dubuque, Iowa, and from New York westward to San Antonio, Texas. There was a world of people ready to emigrate. One in five of all the thousands would have been a swart, strapping fellow, fit for any service but best for the service of a soldier.

Therefore, when these things were told to Shelby, riding down from the highlands about Queretaro to the lowlands about Mexico, he rubbed his hands as one who feels a steady flame by the bivouac-fire of a winter's night, and spoke out gleefully to Langhorne:

"We can get forty thousand and take our pick. Young men for war, and only young men emigrate. This Commodore Maury seems to sail as well upon the land as upon the

water. It appears to me that we shall soon see the sky again. What do *you* say, Captain?"

Langhorne answered him laconically:

"The French are not friendly—that is to say, they want no soldiers from among us. You will not be permitted to recruit even so much as a front and a rear rank; and if this is what you mean by seeing the clear sky, then the sky is as far away as ever."

It was not long before the sequel proved which of the two was right.

Gen. John B. Magruder, who had also preceded the Expedition, and who had known Marshal Bazaine well in the Crimea, was commissioned Surveyor General of the Empire through French influence, and assigned to duty with Commodore Maury. He had spoken twice to the Marshal in behalf of Shelby, and spoken frankly and boldly at that. He got in reply what Jeanningros had got, and Depreuil, and Douay, and all of them. He got this sententious order:

"Bid Shelby march immediately to Mexico."

Gen. Preston, who through much peril and imminent risk by night and day, had penetrated to the Capital, even from Piedras Negras, had begged and pleaded for permission to return with such authority vouchsafed to Shelby as would enable him to recruit his corps. Preston fared like the rest. For answer he also got the order:

"Bid Shelby march immediately to Mexico"

And so he marched on into the glorious land between Queretaro and the Capital, and into the glorious weather, no guerrillas now to keep watch against—no robbers anywhere about the hills or the fords. The French were everywhere in the sunshine. Their picquets were upon all the roads. The villages contained their cantonments. There was peace and prosperity and a great rest among all the people. The women laughed in the glad land, and the voices of many children told of peaceful days and of the fatness of the field and the vine—of the streams that ran to the sea, and uplands green with leaf or gray with ripening grain.

Maybe Fate rests its head upon its two hands at times, and thinks of what little things it shall employ to make or mar a character—save or lose a life—banish beyond the light or enter into and possess forevermore a Paradise.

The march was running by meadow and river, and the swelling of billowy wheat, and the great groves of orange trees wherein the sunshine hid itself at noon with the breeze and the mocking birds.

It was far into the evening that John Thrailkill set by the fire of his mess, smoking and telling brave stories of the brave days that were dead. Others were grouped about in dreaming indolence or silent fancy—thinking, it may be, of the nothern land with its pines and firs—of great rolling waves of prairie and plain, of forests where cabins were and white-haired children all at play.

Thrailkill was a guerrilla who never slept—that is to say, who never knew the length or breadth of a bed from Sumpter to Appomattox. Some woman in Platt county had made him a little black flag, under which he fought. This, worked in the crown of his hat, satisfied him with his loyalty to his lady-love. In addition to all this, he was one among the best pistol shots in a command where all were excellent.

Perhaps neither before or since the circumstance here related, has anything so quaint in recklessness or bravado been recorded this side the Crusades. Thrailkill talked much, but then he had fought much, and fighting men love to talk now and then. Some border story of broil or battle, wherein, at desperate odds, he had done a desperate deed, came uppermost as the night deepened, and the quaint and scarred guerrilla was over-generous in the share he took of the killing and the plunder.

A comrade by his side—Anthony West—doubted the story and ridiculed its narration. Thrailkill was not swift to anger for one so thoroughly reckless, but on this night he arose, every hair in his bushy beard bristling.

"You disbelieve me, it seems," he said, bending over the other until he could look into his eyes, "and for the skeptic

there is only the logic of a blow. Is this real, and is this?" and Thraikill smote West twice in the face with his open hand—once on either cheek. No insult could be more studied, open and unpardonable.

Comrades interfered instantly, or there would have been bloodshed in the heart of the camp and by the flames of the bivouac fire. Each was very cool—each knew what the morrow would bring forth, without a miracle.

The camp was within easy reach of a town that was more of a village than a town. It had a church and a priest, and a regular Don of an Alcalde who owned leagues of arable land and two hundred game cocks besides. For Shelby's especial amusement a huge main was organized, and a general invitation given to all who desired to attend.

The contest was to begin at noon. Before the sun had risen, Capt. James H. Gillette came to Thraikill who was wrapped up in his blankets, and said to him:

"I have a message for you."

"It is not long, I hope."

"Not very long, but very plain."

"Yes, yes, they are all alike. I have seen such before. Wait for me a few minutes."

Thraikill found Isaac Berry, and Berry in turn soon found Gillette.

The note was a challenge, brief and peremptory. Some conferences followed, and the terms were agreed upon. These were savage enough for an Indian. Colt's pistols, dragoon size, were the weapons, but only one of them was to be loaded. The other, empty in every chamber, was to be placed alongside the loaded one. Then a blanket was to cover both, leaving the butt of each exposed. He who won the toss was to make the first selection and Thraikill won. The loaded and the unloaded pistol lay hidden beneath a blanket, the two handles so nearly alike that there was no appreciable difference. Thraikill walked up to the tent, whistling a tune. West stood behind him, watching with a face that was set as a flint. The first drew, cast his eyes along the cylinder, saw that it was loaded, and smiled. The last drew—every

chamber was empty. Death was his portion absolutely as if death already stood by his side. Yet he made no sign other than to look up to the sky. Was it to be his last look?

The terms were ferocious, yet neither second had protested against them. It seemed as if one man was to murder another because one had been lucky in the toss of a silver dollar. As the case stood, Thraikill had the right to fire *six shots* at West before West had the right to grasp even so much as a loaded pistol—and Thraikill was known for his deadly skill throughout the ranks of the whole Expedition.

The two were to meet just at sunset, and the great cock main was at noon. To this each principle went, and each second, and before the main was over the life of a man stood as absolutely upon the prowess of a bird as the Spring and its leaves upon the rain and the sunshine.

And thus it came about:

In Mexico cock-fighting is a national recreation—perhaps it is a national blessing as well. Men engage in it when they would be robbing else, and waylaying couriers bearing specie, and haunting the mountain gorges until the heavy trains of merchandise entered slowly in to be swallowed up.

The priests fight there, and the fatter the *padre* the finer his chicken. From the prayer-book to the pit is an easy transition, and no matter the aves so only the odds are in favor of the church. It is upon the Sundays that all the pitched battles begin. After the matin bells the matches. When it is vespers, for some there has been a stricken and for some a victorious field. No matter again—for all there is absolution.

The Alcalde of the town of Linares was a jolly, good-conditioned Mexican who knew a bit of English, picked up in California, and who liked the Americans but for two things—their hard drinking and their hard swearing. Finding any ignorant of these accomplishments, there flowed never any more for them a stream of friendship from the Alcalde's fountain. It became as dry as suddenly as a spring in the desert.

Shelby won his heart by sending him a case of elegant

cognac—a present from Douay—and therefore was the main improvised which was to begin at noon.

The pit was a great circle in the midst of a series of seats that arose the one above the other. Over the entrance—which was a gateway opening like the lids of a book—was a chair of state—an official seat occupied by the Alcalde. Beside him sat a bugler in uniform. At the beginning and the end of a battle this bugler, watching the gestures of the Alcalde, blew triumphant or penitential strains accordingly as the Alcalde's favorite lost or won. As the main progressed the notes of gladness outnumbered those of sorrow.

A born cavalryman is always suspicious. He looks askance at the woods, the fences, the ponds, the morning fogs, the road that forks and crosses, and the road that runs into the rear of a haltered column, or into either flank at rest in bivouac. It tries one's nerves so to fumble at uncertain girths in the darkness, a rain of bullets pouring down at the outposts and no shelter anywhere for a long week's marching.

And never at any time did Shelby put aught of faith in Mexican friendship, or aught of trust in Mexican welcome and politeness. His guard was perpetual, and his intercourse, like his marching, was always in skirmishing order. Hence one-half the forces of the Expedition were required to remain in camp under arms, prepared for any emergency, while the other half, free of restraint, could accept the Alcalde's invitation or not as they saw fit. The most of them attended. With the crowd went Thrailkill and West, Gillette and Berry. All the village was there. The pit had no caste. Benevolent priests mingled with their congregations and bet their *pesos* on their favorites. Lords of many herds and acres, and mighty men of the country round about, the Dons of the haciendas pulled off their hats to the peons and staked their gold against the greasy silver palm to palm. Fair *senoritas* shot furtive glances along the ranks of the soldiers—glances that lingered long upon the Saxon outline of their faces and retreated only when to the light of curiosity there had been added that of unmistakable admiration.

The bugle sounded and the weighing began. The sport

was new to many of the spectators—to a few it was a sealed book. Twenty-five cocks were matched—all magnificent birds, not so large as those fought in America but as pure in game and as rich in plumage. There, too, the fighting is more deadly, that is to say, it is more rapid and fatal. The heels used have been almost thrown aside here. In the north and west absolutely—in New Orleans very nearly so. These heels, wrought of the most perfect steel and carved like a scimeter, have an edge almost exquisite in its keenness. They cut asunder like a sword-blade. Failing in instant death, they inflict mortal wounds. Before there is mutilation there is murder.

To the savage reality of combat there was added the atoning insincerities of music. These divested the drama of its premeditation, and gave to it an air of surprise that, in the light of an accommodating conscience, passed unchallenged for innocence. In Mexico the natives rarely ask questions—the strangers never.

Shelby seated himself by the side of the Alcalde, the first five or six notes of a charge were sounded and the battle began. Thereafter with varying fortunes it ebbed and flowed through all the long afternoon. Aroused into instant championship, the Americans espoused the side of this or that bird, and lost or won as the fates decreed. There was but scant gold among them, all counted, but twenty dollars or twenty thousand, it would have been the same. A nation of born gamblers, it needed not a cock fight to bring all the old national traits uppermost. A dozen or more were on the eve of wearing their carbines and revolvers, when a sign from Shelby checked the unsoldierly impulse and brought them back instantly to a realization of duty.

Thraillkill had lost heavily—that is to say every dollar he owned on earth. West had won without cessation—won in spite of his judgment, which was often adverse to the wagers he laid. In this, maybe, fate was but flattering him. Of what use would all his winnings be after the sunset?

It was the eighth battle, and a magnificent cock was brought forth who had the crest of an eagle and the eye of a

basilisk. More sonorous than the bugle, his voice had blended war and melody in it. The glossy ebony of his plumage needed only the sunlight to make it a mirror where courage might have arrayed itself. In an instant he was everybody's favorite—in his favor all the odds were laid. Some few clustered about his antagonist—among them a sturdy old priest who did what he could to stem the tide rising in favor of the bird of the beautiful plumage.

Infatuated like the rest, Thrailkill would have staked a crown upon the combat; he did not have even so much as one *real*. The man was miserable. Once he walked to the door and looked out. If at that time he had gone forth, the life of West would have gone with him, but he did not go. As he returned he met Gillette, who spoke to him:

"You do not bet, and the battle is about to begin."

"I do not bet because I have not won. The pitcher that goes eternally to a well is certain to be broken at last."

"And yet you are fortunate."

Thrailkill shrugged his shoulders and looked at his watch. It wanted an hour yet of the sunset. The tempter still tempted him.

"You have no money, then. Would you like to borrow?"

"No."

Gillette mused awhile. They were tying on the last blades and the old priest had cried out:

"A doubloon to a doubloon against the black cock!"

Thrailkill's eyes glistened. Gillette took him by the arm. He spoke rapidly, but so low and distinct that every word was a thrust:

"You do not want to kill West—the terms are murderous—you have been soldiers together—you can take the priest's bet—here is the money. But," and he looked him fair in the face, "if you win you pay me—if you lose I have absolute disposal of your fire."

"Ah!" and the guerrilla straightened up all of a sudden, "what would you do with my fire?"

"Keep your hands clean—clean from innocent blood, John Thrailkill. Is that not enough?"

The money was accepted, the wager with the priest was laid, and the battle began. When it was over the beautiful black cock lay dead on the sands of the arena, slain by the sweep of one terrific blow, while over him, in pitiless defiance, his antagonist, dun in plumage and ragged in crest and feather, stood a victor, conscious of his triumph and his prowess.

The sun was setting, and two men stood face to face in the glow of crimsoning sky. On either flank of them a second took his place, a look of sorrow on the bold bronze face of Berry, the light of anticipation in the watchful eyes of the calm Gillette. Well kept, indeed, had been the secret of the tragedy. The group who stood alone on the golden edge of the evening were all who knew the ways and the means of the work before them. West took his place as a man who had shaken hands with life and knew how to die, Thraikill had never been merciful, and this day of all days were the chances dead against a moment of pity or forgiveness.

The ground was a little patch of grass beside a stream, having trees in the rear of it, and trees over beyond the reach of the waters running musically to the sea. In the distance there were houses from which peaceful smoke ascended. Through the haze of the gathering twilight the sound of bells came from the homeward-plodding herds, and from the fields the happy voices of the reapers.

West stood full front to his adversary—certain of death. He expected nothing beyond a quick and a speedy bullet—one which would kill without inflicting needless pain.

The word was given. Thraikill threw his pistol out, covered his antagonist once fairly, looked once into his eyes and saw that they did not quail, and then, with a motion as instantaneous as it was unexpected, lifted it up overhead and fired in the air.

Gillette had won his wager.

CHAPTER XVII.

The city of all men's hopes and fears and aspirations—the city of the swart cavaliers of Cortez and the naked warriors of Montezuma, who rushed with bare bosom on lance

and sword-blade—the city under the shadow of the old-world Huasco—that volcano, it may be, that was in its youth when Ararat bore aloft the Ark as a propitiation to the God alike of the rainbow and the deluge—and that when the floods subsided sent its lava waves to the Pacific Ocean—the city which had seen the cold glitter of northern steel flash along the broken way of Conteras, and wind itself up, striped thick with blood, into the heart of Chepultepec—the city filled now with Austrians, and Belgians, and Frenchmen, and an Emperor newly crowned with manhood and valor, and an Empress royal with an imperial youth and beauty—the city of Mexico was reached at last.

For many the long march was about to end—for others to begin again—longer, drearier, sterner than any march ever yet taken for king or country—the march down into the Valley of the Shadow, and over beyond the River and into the unknown and eternal.

Marshal Bazaine was a soldier who had seen service in Algeria, in the Crimea, in Italy—especially at Magenta—and he had won the *baton* at last in Mexico, that *baton* which First Napoleon declared might be in the knapsack of every soldier. The character of the man was a study some student of history may love to stumble upon in the future. Past fifty, white-haired where there was hair, bald over the forehead as one sees all Frenchmen who have served in Algeria, he made a fine figure on horseback, because from the waist up his body was long, lithe and perfectly trained; but not such a fine figure on foot, because the proportion was illy preserved between the two extremities. He was ambitious, brave to utter recklessness, crafty yet outspoken and frank, a savage aristocrat who had married a fair-faced Spaniard and a million, merciless in discipline, beloved of his troops, adored by his military family, a gambler who had been known to win a thousand ounces on a single card, a speculator and the owner of ships, a husband whom even the French called true, a father and a Judge who, after he had caressed his infant, voted death at the court-martial so often that one officer began to say to another:

"He shoots them all."

Bazaine was a skillful soldier. As long as it was war Juarez, he kept Juarez starving and running—sometimes across the Rio Grande into Texas, where the Federals fed him, and sometimes in the mountains about El Paso, never despondent, it is true, yet never well-filled in either commissariat or cartridge-box. After the visit of Gen. Castelnau, an aid-de-camp of Napoleon, and the reception of positive orders of evacuation, the Marshal let the Liberals have pretty much their own way, so that they neither injured nor interrupted the French soldiers coming and going about the country at will. As the French waves receded the waves of the Juaristas advanced. Bazaine sold them cannon, and muskets, and much ammunition, it is said, and even siege guns with which to batter down the very walls of Maximilian's palace itself. Those who have accused him of this have slandered and abused the man. He may have known much of many things—of ingratitude not one heart-throb. Not his the aggravation of evacuation, the sudden rending asunder of the whole frame-work of Imperial society, the great fear that fell upon all, the patriotic uprisings that had infection and jubilee in them, the massacre of Mexicans who had favored the Austrian, the breaking up of all schemes for emigration and colonization, and the ending of a day that was to bring the cold, long night of Queretaro.

Rudolph, Emperor of Germany, who was born in 1218, and who was the son of Albert IV., Count of Hapsburg, was the founder of that family to which Maximilian belonged. In 1282, Rudolph placed his son Albert on the throne of Austria, and thus begins the history of that house which has swayed the destinies of a large portion of Europe for nearly eight hundred years, a house which, through many terrible struggles, has gained and lost and fought on and ruled on, sometimes wisely and sometimes not, yet ever ruling in the name of divine right and of the House of Hapsburg.

Through the force of marriage, purchase and inheritance the State of Austria grew in extent beyond that of any other in the German Empire. In 1359, Rudolph IV. assumed the

title of Archduke Palatine, and in 1363 his reign was made notorious by the valuable acquisition of the Tyrol. This was the commencement of the history of the Archdukes, who were thereafter assigned to the high position of Emperor, the first taken from among them being Alfred II., who was chosen in 1438. The marriage of the bold, unscrupulous and ambitious Maximilian I., at the age of eighteen, to Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, in 1477, added to Austria's territorial claim largely, and embraced Flanders, Franche Comte, and all the Low Countries. In 1521, Ferdinand I. married Ann, sister of Louis, King of Hungary and Bohemia, who was killed at the battle of Mohaez, in 1526, his empire being absorbed and incorporated with Austria. Upon the events of the fifteenth century, Charles V. left an immortal impress, and the blood of this great Emperor was in the veins of Maximilian of Mexico.

In 1618, Europe, alarmed at the increasing territorial aggrandizement of Austria, and torn by feuds between Protestants and Catholics, saw the commencement of the thirty years' war. It terminated in the treaty of Westphalia in 1648, which accomplished the independence of the German States. In 1713, Austria gained the Italian Provinces by the treaty of Utrecht, and in 1720 the last male of the House of Hapsburg, Charles II., died, the succession falling upon his daughter, Maria Theresa. She was succeeded by her son Joseph II., and in 1792, at the age of 22, Francis II. succeeded his father, Leopold II., and became Emperor of Germany, King of Bohemia, Hungary, etc. His reign was unusually stormy, and in three campaigns against the French he lost much of his territory and was forced into the unfortunate treaty of Presburg. In 1804, he assumed the title of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, and in 1806, yielded up that of Emperor of Germany. Thus, through an unbroken line, male and female, did the House of Hapsburg hold the title of Emperor of Germany from 1437 to 1806. Maria Louisa, the daughter of this Francis, was married to the great Napoleon in 1810, and in 1813 her father was in arms against France, and in the alliance with Russia, Prussia and Eng-

land. In 1815 he had regained much of his lost territory, and had succeeded in cementing more firmly than ever the contending elements of the Austrian Empire.

Francis I. died in 1835, leaving the throne to his son Ferdinand I., who, in consequence of the political revolution of 1848, the fatigue of state affairs, and a wretched condition of health, abdicated in the same year in favor of his brother, Archduke Francis Charles, who, on the same day, transferred his right to the throne to his eldest son, the present Emperor, who was declared of age at eighteen. Hungary refused to recognize the new monarch, and constituted a Republic under Kossuth, April 14th, 1849. Bloody and short-lived, the Republic was conquered and crushed under the feet of the Cossack and the Croat.

And in such guise is this history given of one who, inheriting many of the splendid virtues of his race, was to inherit some of its sorrows and tragedies as well.

Ferdinand Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico, was born in the palace of Schonbrun, near Vienna, on the 10th day of July, A. D. 1832. He was the second son of Francis Charles, Archduke of Austria, and of the Archduchess Frederica Sophia. His eldest brother was Francis Joseph I., the present Emperor of the Austrian Empire. Two younger brothers embraced the family—and among the whole there was a tenderness and affection so true and so rare in statecraft that in remarking it to the mother of the princes, Marshal MacMahon is reported to have said:

"Madam, these are young men such as you seldom see, and princes such as you never see."

In height Maximilian was six feet two inches. His eyes were blue and penetrating, a little sad at times and often introspective. Perhaps never in all his life had there ever come to them a look of craft or cruelty. His forehead was broad and high, prominent where ideality should abound, wanting a little in firmness, if phrenology is true, yet compact enough and well enough proportioned to indicate resources in reserve and abilities latent and easily aroused. To a large mouth was given the Hapsburg lip, that thick,

protruding semi-cleft under lip, too heavy for beauty, too immobile for features that, under the iron destiny that ruled the hour, should have suggested Caesar or Napoleon. A great yellow beard fell in a wave to his waist. At times this was parted at the chin, and descended in two separate streams, as it were, silkier, glossier, heavier than any yellow beard of any yellow-haired Hun or Hungarian that had followed him from the Rhine and the Danube.

He said pleasant and courtly things in German, in English, Hungarian, Slavonic, French, Italian and Spanish. In natural kindness of temper, and in elegance and refinement of deportment, he surpassed all who surrounded him and all with whom he came in contact. Noblemen of great learning and cosmopolitan reputation were his teachers. Prince Esteraze taught him the Hungarian language; Count de Schnyder taught him mathematics; Thomas Zerman taught him naval tactics and the Italian language. A splendid horseman, he excelled also in athletic sports. With the broadsword or the rapier, few men could break down his guard or touch him with the steel's point.

At the age of sixteen he visited Greece, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Madeira and Africa. He was a poet who wrote sonnets that were set to music, a botanist, a book-maker, the captain of a frigate, an admiral. He did not love to see men die. All his nature was tenderly human. He loved flowers, and music, and statuary, and the repose of the home circle and the fireside. He had a palace called Miramar which was a paradise. Here the messengers found him when they came bearing in their hands the crown of Mexico—a gentle, lovable prince—adored by the Italians over whom he ruled, the friend of the third Napoleon, a possible heir to the throne of Austria, a chivalrous, elegant, polished gentleman.

How he died the world knows—betrayed, butchered, shot by a dead wall, thinking of Carlotta.

France never thoroughly understood the war between the States. Up to the evacuation of Richmond by Lee, Louis Napoleon believed religiously in the success of the South-

ern Confederacy. An alliance offensive and defensive with President Davis was proposed to him by Minister Slidell, an alliance which guaranteed to him the absolute possession of Mexico and the undisturbed erection of an empire within its borders. For this he was asked to raise the blockade at Charleston and New Orleans, and furnish for offensive operations a corps of seventy-five thousand French soldires. He declined the alliance because he believed it unnecessary. Of what use to hasten a result, he argued, which in the end would be inevitable.

After Appomattox Court House he awoke to something like a realization of the drama in which he was the chief actor. The French nation clamored against the occupation. Its cost was enormous in blood and treasure. America, sullen and vicious, and victor in a gigantic war, looked across the Rio Grande with her hand upon her sword. Diplomacy could do nothing against a million of men in arms. It is probably that in this supreme moment Mr. Seward revenged on France the degradation forced upon him by the Trent affair, and used language so plain to the Imperial minister that all ideas of further foothold or aggrandizement in the new world were abandoned at once and for ever.

When Shelby arrived in Mexico the situation was Peculiar. Ostensibly Emperor Maximillian had scarcely any more real authority than the Grand Chamberlain of his household. Bazaine was the military autocrat. The mints, the mines and the custom houses were in his possession. His soldiers occupied all the ports where exporting and importing were done. Divided first into military departments, and next into civil departments, a French General, or colonel, or officer of the line of some grade, commanded each of the first, and an Imperial Mexican of some kind, generally half Juarista and half robber, commanded each of the last. For their allies the French had a most supreme and sovereign contempt—a contempt as natural as it was undisguised. Conflicts, therefore, necessarily occurred. Civil law, even in sections where civil law might have been made beneficial, rarely ever lifted its head above the barricade of bayonets,

and its officers—finding the French supreme in everything, especially in their contempt—surrendered whatever of dignity or official appreciation belonged to them, and without resigning or resisting, were content to plunder their friends or traffic with the enemy.

Perhaps France had a reason or two for dealing thus harshly with the civil administration of affairs. Maximilian was one of the most unsuspecting and confiding of men. He actually believed in Mexican faith and devotion—in such things as Mexican patriotism and love of peace and order. He would listen to their promises and become enthusiastic; to their plans and grow convinced; to their oaths and their pledges, and take no thought for to-morrow, when the oaths were to become false and the pledges violated. France wished to arouse him from his unnatural dream of trusting goodness and gentleness, and put in lieu of the fatal narcotic more of iron and blood.

France had indeed scattered lives freely in Mexico. At first England and Spain had joined with France in an invasion for certain feasible and specified purposes, none of which purposes, however, were to establish an empire, enthrone a foreign prince, support him by a foreign army, seize possession of the whole Mexican country, govern it as a part of the royal possessions, make of it in time, probably, a great menace, but certain—whatever the future might be—to ruffle the feathers pretty roughly upon that winged relation of the great American eagle, the Monroe Doctrine.

Before the occupation, however, Mexico was divided into two parties—that of the liberals, led by Juarez, and that of the Church, its political management in the hands of the Archbishop, its military management in the hands of Miramon. Comonfort, an Utopian dreamer and Socialist, yet a Liberal for all that, renounced the Presidency in 1858. Thereupon the capital of the nation was seized by the Church party, Miramon at its head, and much wrong was done to foreigners—so much wrong, indeed, that from it the alliance sprung that was to sow all over the country a terrible crop of armed men.

In 1861, England, France and Spain united to demand from Mexico the payment of all claims owed by her, and to demand still further and stronger some absolute guarantee against future murders and spoilations.

England's demands were based upon the assertion that on the 16th day of November, 1860, Miramon unlawfully took from English residents one hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. This money was in the house of the British Legation. The house was attacked, stoned, fired into, some of its domestic killed and wounded, and the Minister himself saved with difficulty. Afterwards, at Tacubaya, an outlying village of the capital, seventy-three Englishmen were brutally murdered—shot at midnight in a ditch, and to appease, it is thought, a moment of savage superstition and cruelty. To this day it is not known even in Mexico why Miramon gave his consent to this horrible butchery. In other portions of the country, and indeed in every portion of it where there were Englishmen, they were insulted with impunity, robbed of their possessions, often imprisoned, sometimes murdered, and frequently driven forth penniless from among their tormentors.

A treaty had been made in Paris, in 1859, between Spain and the Church party, which provided for the payment of the Spanish claims. This treaty was annulled when Juarez came into power, and the refusal was peremptory to pay a single dollar to Spain. The somewhat novel declaration was also made that the Republic of Mexico owed to its own citizens about as much as it could pay, and that when discriminations had to be made they should be made against the foreigner. Spain became furiously indignant, and joined in with England in the alliance.

France had also her grievances. A Swiss banker named Jecker, who had been living in Mexico a few years prior to the expedition of the three great powers, had made a fortune high up among the millions. Miramon looked upon Jecker with awe and admiration, and from friends the two men soon became to be partners. A decree was issued by Miramon on the 29th of October, 1859, providing for the issuance

of three millions pounds sterling in bonds. These bonds were to be taken for taxes and import duties, were to bear six per cent. interest, and were to have the interest paid for five years by the house of Jecker. As this was considerably above the average life of the average Mexican government, Miramon felt safe in taking no thought of the interest after Jecker had paid for the first five years. Certain regulations also provided that the holders of these bonds might transfer them and receive in their stead Jecker's bonds, paying a certain percentage; for the privilege of the transfer Jecker was to issue the bonds and to receive five per cent. on the issue. He did not, however, consummate the arrangement as the provisions of the decree required, and at his own suggestion the contract was modified. At last the result narrowed itself down to this: the Church party stood bound for three millions seven hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling, and Jecker found himself in a position where it was impossible to comply with his contract. In May, 1860, his house suspended payment. His creditors got the bonds, the Church party gave place to the Liberal party, and then a general repudiation came. This party refused to acknowledge any debt based upon the Miramon-Jecker transaction, just as it had refused to carry out the stipulations of a sovereign treaty made with Spain.

The most of Jecker's creditors were Frenchmen, and France resolved to collect not only this debt, but claims to the amount of twelve millions of dollars besides. Failing to obtain a peaceful settlement, late in the year 1860, the French Minister left the Capital after this significant speech:

"If there shall be war between us it shall be a war of destruction."

And it was.

HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

A historical society receives many requests for information. Some relate to history proper, as politics, war, and dates, but the majority concern activities of the people not usually set forth in annalistic compilations. In these latter requests are found many suggestions for the modern historian. They are indicative of the people's needs in this broader history field. They call attention to the matters which are frequently as important as a military campaign or a political election, but which have failed to attract general attention. They frequently reveal how far along we are, or how far behind, in those essential things connected with our civilization.

The request may ask for the minutes of some statewide organization, having thousands of members, and perhaps the seeker must be informed that this organization did not publish its proceedings for over forty years after its founding. The first published minutes of proceedings of the Missouri State Teachers Association were for the 41st annual meeting in 1902, although the first convention was held in St. Louis on May 21, 22 and 23, 1856. The inquirer may desire a research worker to run through the file of some old newspaper to obtain data relating to persons or property. When informed that this file was burned over a quarter of a century ago he realizes for the first time the value *to him* of such records.

There is another side to this subject. Frequently the owner of old records refuses to consider placing them in a public depository or to provide a safe depository himself. The records are valuable in a way *to him*. Several years ago I was in a newspaper office. Unlike many editors this man wanted to keep his file but did not take pains to see that it would be preserved. He said the file was valuable to him because it contained an account of his parents' marriage, his own birth and marriage, and his editorial work for fif-

teen years. That file was the only complete record of his town and vicinity. It went back sixty years. It contained records of thousands of births, deaths, marriages, property transactions, personal items, economic data on sales and prices, and all the scores of other features which make the newspaper the mirror of our democracy. And this file was stored in a shed.

Fortunately for our people many Missouri editors have either donated or deposited, their files in the State Historical Society or have had them bound and carefully preserved in a fire-proof vault. Since 1899, the year of incorporation of the Society, all Missouri editors have regularly sent issues of their current papers for preservation. Today the Society has over 12,000 bound volumes of Missouri newspapers. The continuation of this great work will eventually result in bridging many gaps in Missouri's records and will make the obtaining of historical data an easier matter than it has been.

What is true of the press is equally true of the thousands of books and pamphlets many of which are the product of a day. Their historical value is ascertained only on the fundamental basis of their pertaining to the activities of our people. They are read by hundreds on the day of publication but even a single copy is sometimes unobtainable five years later. Still their value to the State cannot be determined until some citizen needs them to obtain data not found elsewhere. Just as newspaper records have settled lawsuits, cleared title to property, validated franchises, proven even deaths, and questions of legitimacy, so have town directories been evidence in case of pensions, college annuals the key to biographies, and hotel registers statistical indicators of transportation.

"I'M FROM MISSOURI."

Dr. Walter B. Stevens, president of the State Historical Society of Missouri, presents some additional data relating to the origin of "I'm from Missouri:"

While visiting the Portland Exposition in 1905, David R. Francis was asked about the origin of "I'm from Missouri. You've got to show me." His reply printed in the *Oregonian* was:

"Every man in Missouri has his own pet origin, but I am inclined to believe that the generally accepted one dates from the Civil War times. It is said that an officer of the Northern army fell upon a body of Confederate troops and demanded its surrender, stating that he had so many thousand men in his command. The Confederate commander was game to the core; and while he knew he was in sore straits and taken at a disadvantage, he told the Northerner that he didn't believe the latter had that number of troops, and appended the now famous expression to the end of his note, refusing to surrender. History doesn't mention the outcome of the negotiations. This explanation I consider the most reliable and authentic."

In Dr. Stevens' *Centennial History of Missouri*, Vol. II, pages 520-521, are found these explanations of the now famous expression:

"I'm from Missouri; you've got to show me." This was coined so far back in the last century that it belongs to Missouri folklore. The origin has been forgotten. The uses have been many. The expression found such extended application beyond the borders of the state that it was accepted in other parts of the country as in some way typical of Missouri character. The late Norman J. Colman, secretary of agriculture in the first Cleveland cabinet, once said that these fewer than half-score of simple Saxon words contain "a correct estimate of Missouri character. It is true that we are not a people who will accept as truth statements of moment which the maker should be able to demonstrate as fact."

On one occasion the expression was used in court with telling effect. Ten or fifteen years ago Judge Joseph J. Williams, in Jefferson county, was hearing a case in which James F. Green appeared for the Missouri Pacific legal department. The referee in the case, Mr. Bean, had made a voluminous report adverse to the railroad's contention. The judge was inclined to take Bean's findings. Mr. Green insisted that Bean was wrong in his conclusions and argued that the judge must go through the great bulk of testimony to satisfy the ends of justice. The time was summer. The judge fingered the top sheets of the referee's transcript and said:

"Well, I suppose, then, it will be necessary for me to go over this mass of testimony in order to decide as to the contentions made, and—"

"Well, Your Honor," interrupted Mr. Green, "of course that would be necessary, but, as you know yourself, you are from Missouri and I am anxious to show you, you see—all sides of the case."

Commenting on the expression, subsequent to his use of it in court, Mr. Green said, "The last analysis of it exhibits erudition that smacks of legal lore. There is behind that saying the element of such great truth that Missourians should be proud of the sentiment or sense of it. I think I have heard that it was first spoken before a Missouri 'squire in one of the Southeast Missouri counties."

Charles P. Johnson, the former lieutenant-governor, leader of many reforms in Missouri, first heard of the use of the expression in connection with the mining craze, which had its run in Missouri along in the nineties. Many Missourians invested not wisely but so generously in holes in the ground from British Columbia to Old Mexico that they had enough handsomely engraved stock certificates to paper a fair-sized bedroom.

"The latent power of that expression," said Governor Johnson, "is that part of it which conveys to your senses the conviction that the person who uses it has had some convincing experience that he is unwilling to enter into ventures of a dubious or unknown character. The saying is exemplification of the truth that in experience there is wisdom."

Judge D. P. Dyer, of marvelous memory in all that pertains to Missouri, first heard of this saying in connection with a fight in a mining camp in the Rocky Mountains. The bully of the camp threatened a Missourian with a thrashing. The Missourian prepared for the encounter. Friends warned the Missourian that he was sure to get the worst of it. "Well," said the Missourian, "maybe he'll lick me, but I'm from Missouri, and you'll have to show me."

ARTHUR J. FORREST.

By George A. Mahan.

Arthur J. Forrest was a member of Company D, 354th Inf., 89 Div. At the time he enlisted he lived with his parents, 112-a S. Maple Avenue, Hannibal, Missouri, and was sent to Camp Funston. His father is a foreman at the International Shoe Company factory and before he enlisted Arthur played baseball in the Three I League with the team at Quincy, Illinois.

In the battle of the Argonne, near Ramonville, France, while in charge of a platoon on the 4th support line, moving

forward on the morning of November 1, 1918, we were stopped by the heavy machine-gun fire from the Germans, directly south of Ramonville, France. Turning the line over to the corporal, Forrest told him, "I want to go up and see what those square heads are doing," meaning the Germans. Forrest worked his way through the 3rd, 2nd and 1st lines, being ordered at every line not to advance, as it would be sure death to go up to the front line. Forrest paid no heed to the orders. After reaching the front line the men were ordered to lie down. After the lines stopped going forward Forrest started to advance towards the enemy fire, crawling for about fifty yards. Getting up he ran into his own barrage with the shells playing all around him. He threw up his hands and fell over as though being hit by the enemy fire, laying still for a few minutes in sight of the Boche. After looking around to get his bearings he started to beat it closer to the enemy. Running forward again, and for the second time he fell to the ground as though being shot, getting himself together and rolling over the ground into a big shell hole. Laying there for a few minutes until he saw his way clear, he started to get closer to the enemy by crawling. When about a hundred yards from the machine-gun nest that was pouring a deadly fire his way, he started crawling out of sight of the enemy until he had reached his goal, then about fifty yards from the enemy.

The Germans made all preparations to stop the advance of the Americans that morning by flooding a part of the woods in front of the machine gun nests. Working towards the right he prepared to clean up. Taking two hand grenades from his pocket, he started running and throwing the grenades into the nest. Just as he got to the edge of the nest he stumbled over the barb wire, which was supporting the machine guns, and fell among the wire. At this point a big German was about to drive his bayonet through him, when Forrest while on his knees landed an uppercut with his rifle which staggered the German. This gave him time to get to his feet. He swung the butt of his gun as though batting a fast one, which landed on the German's head, putting him out for



SERGT. ARTHUR J. FORREST.

Co. D, 354 Inf., 89 Division, 1918, Hannibal, Mo.

The first medal to the left is the Congressional medal of Honor, the next is the Medal Militaire, the highest medal given by the French Government, the third is a Croix de Guerre with two palms, a gold one and bronze one, and the last is a medal for bravery, given by the Government of Montenegro.

keeps. Two more Germans approached him on the run and Forrest used his bayonet on them. The fourth he put away with a swing of the butt of his rifle.

While at Camp Funston, Forrest was an expert with the bayonet, which came in good use at this moment. Then he started cleaning up one by one. Getting every one in sight that stuck to his post, using his gun like a base ball bat. One can swing a gun with better results than shooting, when one's life is at stake at close range. Not being satisfied with this, he started to scout further on and ran into a bunch of Germans. More fortune was ahead of him at this moment, as the American's artillery scored a direct hit on the nest, which drove the enemy under cover into a dug-out, while a platoon advanced and surrounded the Boche.

Eighty-three prisoners and six machine guns were credited to Forrest.

Forrest when asked what made him do it said, "I knew they couldn't do any more than knock me off, and I wanted to have some fun with the Germans. Then it was better to lose one life than hundreds. I wanted to save the lives of my pals," was the way he put it. "After one spends day after day and night after night in trenches, shell holes and sides of hills under shell fire for weeks, unable to take his clothes off, one doesn't seem to care what happens. I was just lucky."

CORRECTION.

I am writing you to call your attention to a mistake made in the July issue of the "Missouri Historical Review" in the Historical Articles in Missouri Newspapers—April—June, 1921, under sub-head of Wright County, reference is made to the Marshfield Mail and its story of the Marshfield Cyclone and Sketch of the life of F. M. Russell.

The error is in locating Marshfield and the Mail in Wright County. They are in Webster County. Mr. Russell was a resident of this (Laclede) county for many years previous to his death, living near Conway, and was a resident of Conway, in Laclede County at the time of his death.

(Signed) MILTON FULLER,
Editor *Lebanon Rustic*.

Lebanon, Missouri, September 9, 1922.

MARK TWAIN HISTORICAL PAGEANT.

At Hannibal, Missouri, on June 12th, 13th and 14th, was presented a "Mark Twain Historical Pageant." This pageant was given under the auspices of the Hannibal Study Club and was presented under the direction of Mrs. Frank S. Leach of Sedalia, who was also the author of the piece. The following account of the production is taken from the *Hannibal Courier-Post* for June 13, 1922:

In the first act surveyors are at work in the year 1818 laying out the city. Here the Indians enter and frighten away the surveyors. Moses D. Bates, son of the founder of Hannibal, is shown trading "firewater" to the Indians for their furs.

The second act shows the queen of Hannibal preparing for a visit of Mark Twain to the city of his boyhood. She discovers that the town is menaced with flies, wastepaper, fire, dirt, soot, microbes, sickness, sorrow, poverty and death. Cleanliness appears, bringing the flyswatter, fire prevention, the paint army, Dutch Cleansers, health crusaders, flower girls and Sunshine to aid in making the city beautiful.

Particularly attractive and touching is the third act, showing a "Picture of Memory." All participants in this were over 80 years old and were moving factors in the early history of Hannibal, as well as old friends and playmates of Mark Twain.

Act four presents famous scenes and characters from Mark Twain's "Tom Sawyer," "Huckleberry Finn," "On the Mississippi River," and "Joan of Arc," including dances and the famous cave scene.

Act five shows a review of American heroes and Hannibal industries.

"Liberty Aflame" is shown effectively in the sixth act with the grouping of nations and the chorus of children.

The part of Mark Twain was taken by T. L. Anderson, an attorney of Hamilton; that of Becky Thatcher by Miss Geraldine Downs of Sedalia, and that of Tom Sawyer by William B. Stout of Hannibal.

THE HISTORY OF MISSOURI AND MISSOURIANS.

By Walter B. Stevens.

"Missouri's Struggle for Statehood" is widely recognized historical authority on that period of a half decade which prompted Thomas Jefferson to say "The Missouri Question

is the most portentous which ever threatened our Union." It combined exhaustive research with a literary treatment which gave Floyd C. Shoemaker national standing as an historical writer. Mr Shoemaker's second book, "Missouri's Hall of Fame," is a collection of intimate personal sketches of distinguished Missourians. It sustained well that reputation gained earlier; it has obtained wide use in Missouri schools. Encouraged by the highly favorable reception of these efforts, Mr. Shoemaker has written "A History of Missouri and Missourians."

The title-page announces modestly "A Text Book for Class A, Elementary Grade, Freshman High School and Junior High School." But this is much more than a school book. The marvelously comprehensive review of Missouri history will appeal to readers generally. The treatment is topical. Chronology is made of secondary importance. Thus Mr. Shoemaker in successive chapters presents graphic retrospects of the century of "Missouri's Politics," of "Military Missouri," of "Population," "Missouri's Agriculture," "Missouri's Mining," "Transportation," "City Building," "Journalism," "Literature," "Education." The treatment is novel in the making of histories of American States but Missouri's century since statehood has been widely varied in achievement. Mr. Shoemaker's terse and vigorous style makes the most of this topical treatment. Interest of the student and of the general reader is sustained throughout. There are no dull parts to be skipped.

Before entering upon the twenty and more chapters which give the century retrospects by topics, Mr. Shoemaker brings out strongly the central position Missouri occupies in the Union, not only geographically but also in natural and productive wealth, and finally, what is not so generally realized, in respect to distinctive characters of the population.

In three chapters he traces Missouri's relationship to the early Spanish and French explorations, to the first century of white settlement in the Mississippi Valley and to Spanish rule.

Then come chapters rapidly but definitely reviewing the Louisiana Purchase; Missouri's Struggle for Statehood; The Life of the People from 1804 to 1821; Missourians, The Trail-Makers and Traders of the West. Thus the book blazes the way to the one hundred years' retrospects of all of the elements of the State's activity and progress.

The sentiment of state pride must react to Mr. Shoemaker's fine description of the parts earlier generations of Missourians had in the discovery of the West through exploration and fur trading. A chapter tells how later generations of Missourians won the West through settlements beyond the Missouri river, making the beginnings of many cities. "Mother of States" is the claim Mr. Shoemaker presents for Missouri, and he establishes it by an impressive showing of the numbers and character of Missourians who became citizens of these new states.

Mr. Shoemaker's analysis of Missouri's population is one of many striking features of his book. He traces decade by decade the evolution of the Missourian of 1922, showing how Missouri became a southern state, then a western state and now "a conservative central state" of the Union, with nine out of every ten of the population born in the United States, and seven out of every ten born in Missouri—this by the census of 1920.

In five chapters Mr. Shoemaker reviews the century of Missouri politics. He traces "the rule of the fathers"—the period of personal leadership from 1820 to 1844. Next he takes up the political unrest from 1844 to 1860. The Civil War period and Radical Republican rule from 1861 to 1870 constitute one of Missouri's most thrilling epochs. The following chapter comprises the Liberal Republican movement and the Democratic return to power from 1870 to 1904. The last period develops the growing power of the individual voter in Missouri. In these chapters on Missouri politics is the suggestive material for a score of student theses for the higher degrees.

The economic life in the pioneer period, the evolution of Missouri agriculture, the continuous interest in educational

development, the participation in all of the country's wars are presented in such manner as to hold the interest of the reader and leave lasting impressions to Missouri's credit.

Portraits of all of Missouri's governors and of many other distinguished Missourians, maps, prints of notable events and historic buildings illustrate the text admirably.

Two striking things about this book are the amount of information contained in the 350 pages and the sustained interest to the reader throughout. Dates and statistics are used only where essential to the context. There are no footnotes to break the continuity. Mr. Shoemaker has had in mind to tell the true story of Missouri; to give Missourians the credit of their achievements and to inspire a higher degree of state pride. He has done all of this well.

MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXT-BOOKS

COMPILED BY J. WILLARD RIDINGS

BAPTIST CHURCH HISTORY.

From *Columbia Evening Missourian*, December 27, 1921.

From the days when Father Marquette came bravely floating down the broad Mississippi into the wild virgin territory of Missouri, chanting a message of love and peace, this State has been noticeably responsive to religion.

It is a long step, it is true, from the bedaubed Indians and uncouth and unlearned explorers and traders who formed the first converts to the religious organization of the State today. But the salient feature is the early responsiveness of those adventurous ones who had come to this new land "over the river," not as a political or religious haven, but as a source of wealth.

Even the earliest white settlements, notwithstanding their aim, had their religious organizations and someone to direct their religious thought. One of the oldest organized churches in the State of Missouri was the Bethel Church, about eight miles north of Rocheport, which is the oldest Baptist church in the State. Though its name was changed and it now is known as the Walnut Grove Church, the roster still shows the names of the charter members who, on July 28, 1817, formally conducted its organization. There were only five: Anderson Woods, Betsy Woods, David McQuitty, John Turner and James Harris.

This little group selected a pastor, William Thorpe, and from this nucleus sprang the Baptist organization of the State. The first outshoot from the parent church was the Petite Bonne Femme Church, about seven miles southeast of Columbia, which recently celebrated its centennial. It was organized in December, 1819, by the members of the Bethel Church, and took its name from the river which ran near the church.

The first place of worship used by the Petite Bonne Femme congregation was a log shack in the forest. After eighty years of prosperity had flooded the community coffers, a building of brick was erected which stood until 1918, when it was remodeled, a Gothic roof constructed and electric lights installed. The church now numbers 80 members, which is the smallest number it has had since it was first established.

Some of the graves in the church yard are more than a hundred years old, and the inscriptions on the tablets, hewn out of sandstone and limestone, are weather-beaten so that they cannot be deciphered.

In 1823 members from the Bonne Femme Church were sent to Columbia to establish a Baptist church here. Charles Hardin and Walter Ridgeway were the first deacons of the church. Elder Allen McGuire became the first pastor in 1827 and Dr. William Jewell the church clerk in 1828.

A forerunner of the University of Missouri was founded at Bonne Femme, for in 1829 the Bonne Femme Academy was incorporated as a college, with Robert S. Thomas as its first president in 1838. It was situated near the church, as the early records state, "In a beautiful and highly moral community." The land on which both the church and college were located was donated by Colonel James McClelland.

The Missouri Baptist General Association was established in the Bonne Femme Church in 1835. Jeremiah Verdeman was the moderator and William Wright was recording secretary. At this time the church and community were noted for their "social culture, their fortune and their generous hospitality." Many men who were prominent in the State were members of the Bonne Femme Church—financiers, educators and men who were leaders in all phases of public life.

Another old church in Boone county is Salem church, which is near Ashland. For forty years David Doyle was pastor of this church, and the records show that "he received no remuneration for his services." Mr. Doyle was the first pastor of the Petite Bonne Femme Church and served there for ten years before coming to Salem Church.

SOME FACTS ABOUT PONY EXPRESS.

From *Kansas City Times*, July 1, 1922.

Pony Express was the name given to mail service between St. Joseph, Missouri, and San Francisco, California, in 1860. At that time there were three transcontinental mail lines, but the greater part of the mail between the East and the far West was sent by way of Panama, in about twenty-two days. The demand for a more rapid mail service between the East and the West led to the establishment in the spring of 1860 of the famous "Pony Express," the mail being carried rapidly overland on horseback under the direction of the Central Overland California and Pike's Peak Express Company.

The first pony express left St. Joseph April 31, 1860. The

schedule allowed eight days to reach San Francisco. Stations averaging at first twenty-five miles apart were established, and each rider was expected to cover seventy-five miles a day. Eventually there were 190 stations, 200 station keepers, 200 assistant station keepers, 80 riders, and between 400 and 500 horses. The quickest trip was that made for the delivery of President Lincoln's inaugural address, the distance between St. Joseph and Sacramento, 1,950 miles, being covered in seven days and seventeen hours. At first the company charged \$5 for each half-ounce, but later reduced the charge to \$2.50. The regular pony express service was discontinued upon the completion of the line of the Pacific Telegraph Company in October, 1861. The service was often interrupted by Indian hostilities, and was extremely hazardous for riders and station keepers alike.

BUILDING OF THE CAIRO & FULTON RAILROAD.

From *The Charleston Enterprise-Courier*, September 29, 1921.

The Cairo & Fulton was projected as a transcontinental railroad, to connect the Ohio and Mississippi rivers with the Pacific ocean. It was organized and surveyed in 1857, the eastern terminus of the line to be at Bird's Point and the western terminus temporarily at Fulton, Arkansas, on the Red River. The project took form rapidly, due largely to the people of Mississippi county, who pledged \$50,000 to the road and who were largely instrumental in obtaining large grants of land from the State to aid in financing its construction. The contract for the grading and timbers was awarded to Col. H. J. Deal of Charleston, and in 1858 the first locomotive, the Sol. G. Kitchen, was brought to Bird's Point and placed upon the rails—one of the first engines to be operated west of the Mississippi River.

On April 19, 1859, the tracks of the Cairo & Fulton were completed into Charleston. Mr. E. P. Deal recalls hearing his father tell of the fact that the track construction contractors had a bet with the citizens of this city regarding the date upon which the tracks would be laid into Charleston, and that his father's grading crew, who were at work about a mile east of Sikeston, were brought to Charleston on that day, in order that they might assist the construction gang in winning the big dinner which was the wager on this occasion, and which they succeeded in winning, the tracks being laid and the first train brought into Charleston about 6 o'clock.

The Cairo & Fulton was completed as far as Sikeston before construction was halted by the Civil War, which bankrupted the line. During the war the equipment of the road, including the

Sol. G. Kitchen and the Abe Hunter, which was engine number 2, was kept in Charleston. Following the war the Kitchen was dismantled here by Col. Deal, who obtained possession of some of the equipment through payments due him by the insolvent road.

At the close of the war efforts to revive the Cairo & Fulton Railroad failed and in 1871 Col. Deal obtained a contract to dismantle the road, all the iron being taken up and brought to Charleston. Mr. E. P. Deal states that, as a boy, he assisted in dismantling the line, the rails being hauled into Charleston over the railroad on trucks pulled by mules. When the tracks were taken up from Sikeston to Bertrand, his father, who laid out the latter town in 1859, decided to move some of the buildings in that place to Charleston. These too were brought in by mule power over the railroad.

Shortly after this dismantling the Cairo, Arkansas & Texas Railroad was organized and built a new railroad along the survey and dump of the old Cairo & Fulton, starting, however, at Greenfield's Landing instead of at Bird's Point. Owing to a sandbar at Greenfield's, however, the road was built from Rodney into the old terminus a few months later. Construction was finished from Sikeston to Poplar Bluff and the road became an important factor in the development of southeast Missouri. It was purchased in the latter '70's by Thomas Allen, president of the Iron Mountain Railroad, and made part of that system.

PERSONALS.

JUDGE A. D. BURNES: Born near Platte City, Missouri, October 27, 1864; died at Platte City, November 30, 1921. He was educated at Vanderbilt University and the University of Missouri and began the practice of law in Platte City in 1885. He served as city attorney of Platte City for eight years and as prosecuting attorney of Platte county four years. In 1898 he was elected judge of the Fifth Judicial Circuit and served until his death.

LEWIS CLEMONS: Born in Washington county, Tennessee, October 14, 1815; died at Stockton, Missouri, December 12, 1921. At the outbreak of the Mexican war Mr. Clemons enlisted with the 8th Illinois Infantry and served under General Taylor. He came to Missouri in 1855 and saw service in the Civil War as a member of the Missouri Militia, and later with the 9th Missouri Cavalry.

JEHIEL T. DAY: Born near Mt. Vernon, Ohio, November 12, 1833; died at Gallatin, Missouri, August 24, 1921. During the Civil War he served in the Union cause with an Ohio regiment, coming to Missouri in 1866, after the close of the war. In 1876 he purchased a half interest in the *Gallatin North Missourian*. Later he served several terms as postmaster of Gallatin and one term as probate judge of Daviess county.

HON. JAMES L. DOWNING: Born in Scotland county, Missouri, January 27, 1851; died at Malden, Missouri, November 7, 1921. Washington University, in 1870, awarded Mr. Downing his law degree, and he was made a member of the bar four years later. He first practiced in Schuyler county, but removed to Dunklin county in 1884. There he became active in politics and was probate judge of the county from 1899 to 1903. He also served as State Railroad Commissioner from 1882 to 1889.

HON. EMMETT B. FIELDS: Born in Sullivan county, Missouri, January 24, 1863; died at Browning, Missouri, September 3, 1922. He was admitted to the bar in 1887 and practiced law in Browning from that time until his death. He was active in all political matters and was a candidate for office on several occasions. In 1898 he was elected to the State Senate from the 6th district, and was reelected to this office in 1902 and 1906.

HON. R. Q. GILLILAND: Born in Ozark county, Missouri, October 22, 1845; died at Gainesville, Missouri, November, 12, 1921. He served Ozark county as deputy circuit clerk and as recorder and was a member of the lower house in the 27th General Assembly.

HON. JUDSON B. HALE: Born in Adams county, Illinois, February 7, 1849; died at Carrollton, Missouri, September 22, 1921. He came to Carroll county as a young man and spent most of his life on a farm there. He took a leading

part in Republican politics in Carroll county. He served twice as judge of the county court and twice—in 1909 and 1911—as representative from Carroll county in the General Assembly.

DR. C. LESTER HALL: Born in Arrow Rock, Missouri, in 1845; died at Kansas City, June 10, 1922. Dr. Hall was educated at the St. Joseph Medical College and at the Jefferson Medical College of Philadelphia. He began practice at Kansas City in 1890. He was a member of several medical associations and was president of the Missouri Medical Association in 1896. He also had served as vice-president of the American Medical Association.

J. A. HUDSON: Born in Montgomery county, Missouri, October 7, 1853; died at Kirksville, Missouri, July 22, 1922. Early in life Mr. Hudson engaged in the newspaper business, learning the business in the office of the old Macon *Times*, of which publication he became the owner and editor in 1883. Prior to his purchase of the *Times* he had been a part owner of the Macon *Examiner* and the founder of the *Chariton Courier* at Keytesville. He sold the *Times* in 1896 and in 1898 located in Columbia and engaged in the telephone business. This business he conducted until his death. He was also interested in dairy farming, owning several hundred acres of land near McBaine, Missouri, in the Missouri river bottom. He was president of the Missouri Press Association in 1885-86 and had always been prominent in its activities.

JOHN W. JACKS: Born in Monroe county, Missouri, September 1, 1845; died at Montgomery City, Missouri, December 6, 1921. He learned the printing business as a boy and, after engaging in the work in several Missouri towns, settled in Montgomery City in 1880, becoming the owner and editor of the *Standard*. He conducted this publication up to the time of his death.

HON. CHARLES F. KRONE: Born in St. Louis, Missouri, December 15, 1863; died in St. Louis June 22, 1922. He received his education at the University of Missouri and was made a member of the Missouri bar in 1889. He practiced law in St. Louis from that time until his death. He served as assistant circuit attorney in 1899 and 1900 and was a member of the State Senate in 1909.

HON. JERROLD RANSON LETCHER: Born in Missouri in 1851; died at Salt Lake City, August 12, 1922. Mr. Letcher was educated at the University of Missouri and for a short time after his graduation practiced law in the state of Colorado. He removed to Salt Lake City in 1890 and became prominent in public life in Utah. In 1894 he was a member of the last "Utah Commission" and was a member of the committee which presented the state constitution to the president for approval. After the state was admitted to the Union he served for nearly 20 years as clerk of the circuit and district courts. At the time of his death he was United States referee in bankruptcy, a position he had filled since 1917.

JOHN THOMAS MITCHELL: Born near Columbia, Missouri, July 16, 1857; died at Columbia October 22, 1921. As a young man he organized the Bank of Centralia and was connected with this institution until the time of his death. He served as State Bank Commissioner during the administration of Governor Major.

HON. SAMUEL F. O'FALLON: Born in Scott county, Minnesota, March 23, 1857; died at Oregon, Missouri, July 8, 1922. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1880. From 1883 to 1885 he was prosecuting attorney of Holt county, and from 1887 to 1895 was probate judge. In 1896 he was elected representative from Holt county to the Missouri General Assembly. To this office he was re-elected in 1898, 1902, 1918 and 1920. He served as speaker of the House during his last two terms and was a member of the statutes revision committee in 1899 and 1919.

J. W. PEERY: Born at Edinburg, Missouri, June 28, 1855; died at Albany, Missouri, July 10, 1922. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1877, practicing, with the exception of four years, his profession at Albany until the time of his death. He was recognized as one of the leading attorneys of northwest Missouri and was known as an able pleader before the bar. He had been a member of the State Historical Society for many years.

ADMIRAL URIEL SEBREE: Born in Howard county, Missouri, February 20, 1848; died at Coronado, California, August 6, 1922. In 1862 he was appointed a naval cadet to Annapolis by Wm. C. Hall, at that time congressman. He graduated from Annapolis in 1865 and served in the various ranks of the navy until 1910, when he was retired as an admiral. Prior to his retirement he was in command of the Pacific fleet.

HON. GEORGE W. WANAMAKER: Born on Prince Edward Island, Ontario, Canada, October 8, 1846; died at Bethany, Missouri, November 18, 1921. He came with his parents to Missouri in 1869 and, after graduating from the University of Michigan, took up the practice of law at Kirksville. A few years later he removed to Bethany. In 1904 he was elected judge of the Third judicial circuit and was re-elected in 1910.

HON. JOHN F. WELLS: Born May 14, 1832, at Bethany, Indiana; died at West Plains, Missouri, November 2, 1921. When a boy 14 years of age he became a member of Company B, 5th Indiana Volunteer Cavalry and took part in all campaigns throughout the Mexican War. At the outbreak of the Civil War Mr. Wells enlisted in the 15th Illinois Volunteer Cavalry and served three years under General Grant.

